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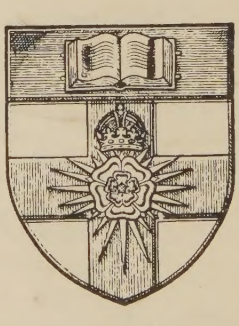

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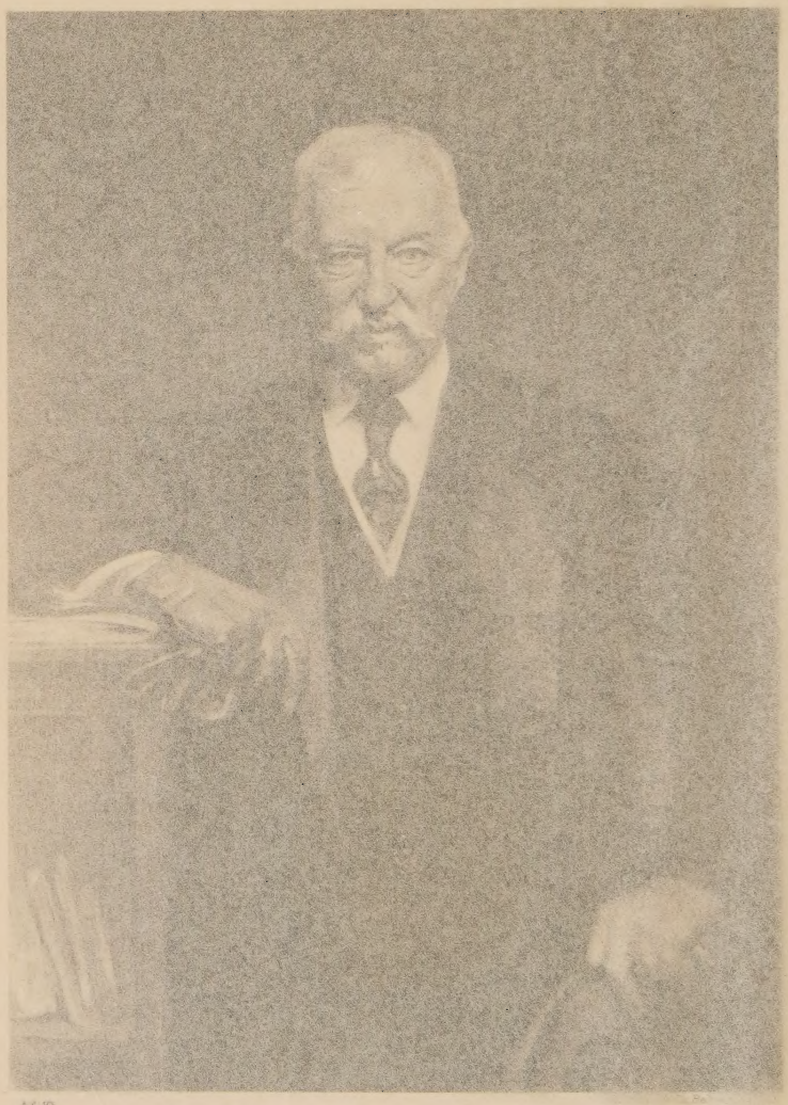

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Massachusetts Historical Society

Founded 1791

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OCTOBER, 1928—JUNE, 1929

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CHANGES IN MEMBERSHIP.

October, 1928 — September, 1929.

Deaths.

Resident.

1916, Frederick Cheever Shattuck . . . . . Jan. 11, 1929.
1917, Charles Lemuel Nichols . . . . . Feb. 19, 1929.
1918, Russell Gray . . . . . June 7, 1929.

Corresponding.

1917, Earl of Rosebery . . . . . May 21, 1929.
1923, James Benjamin Wilbur . . . . . April 28, 1929.
1926, Charles Victor Langlois . . . . . June 25, 1929.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

OCTOBER MEETING, 1928.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, October 11, 1928, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the June meeting was read and approved.

Mr. BOLTON made a report of the ceremonies attending the unveiling of the memorial to the Pioneer Settlers of Virginia in 1607, at Blackwall, London, on June 30 last, to which he was a delegate from this Society.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Catherine W. Faucon, of Milton, papers, 1799–1816, of her grandfather, Nicolas Michel Faucon, who took part in the French Revolution and was an instructor in French at Harvard College, 1806–1816; also his silhouette by Doyle, four of his published works, and his manuscript introduction to the study of the French Language.

From Miss Josephine Lewis, of Brookline, the deed by Mrs. Hannah Mather Crocker, daughter of Rev. Samuel Mather and niece of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, to Thomas Lewis and Son, ship and wharf owners at the North End of Boston, of the Hutchinson tomb in Copps Hill Burying Ground, Oct. 30, 1807, with an account of their ownership by Miss Lewis, a descendant.

From George F. Partridge, of Cambridge, thirteen sermons of Rev. Elnathan Wight, minister of the Baptist Church, Bellingham, preached 1750 to 1757.

From Mrs. Laura E. Richards, papers of her father, Samuel Gridley Howe, 1838–1874, mostly relating to Kansas, anti-slavery, the John Brown raid, and the Civil War.

From George R. Harlow, Cleveland Heights, Ohio, three notebooks kept in Cambridge by his grandfather Joshua Harlow, 1836–1862.

From Mrs. Albion D. Wilde, of Canton, a deed of land in Stoughton, 1745.

From Howard Corning, of Cambridge, two manuscripts, a return of men from Braintree sent to Rhode Island in the Revolutionary War, and a bill for service of Dorchester men.

From Mrs. Arthur Holland, by deposit, a trunk of papers of Hannah, daughter of William Dawes, the patriot.

From Prof. Joseph Warren, by deposit, the ledger of Dr. Joseph Warren, 1763–1768, and two books of medical visits by Dr. Joseph Warren, 1774 to May 8, 1775, and by Dr. John Warren, his brother, 1780 to 1788.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Alfred Walter Elson, of Belmont, fourteen large photogravures of distinguished Americans: Audubon, Franklin, Grant, Hamilton, Holmes, Jay, Jefferson, Lincoln, Lowell, Marshall, Motley, Prescott, George and Martha Washington, and two large carbon photographs of Lafayette and Gen. Joseph Warren.

From George P. Anderson, a photograph of Stuart's painting of Thomas Dennie, master of St. John's Lodge of Freemasons, 1795 and 1800.

From the American Antiquarian Society, a photograph of the painting of Gov. William Burnet, 1729, given to that society by bequest of Rev. William Bentley in 1819.

From Prof. Joseph Warren, a photograph of the Hancock House, two engravings of George Washington, and one of St. Botolph's Church, Boston, England.

From Richard C. McKay, of New York, a half-tone engraving of the launching of the *Great Republic*, at Donald McKay's shipyard, October 4, 1853, including a piece of the original ways in the yard.

From the *Boston Herald*, the bronze medal of the Lindbergh Essay contest, 1928.

From T. J. Silsby, the medal and badge of the 39th Congress of the Sons of the American Revolution, Washington, D. C., 1928.

From Grenville H. Norcross, the medal and badge of Amelia Earhart, the first woman to cross the Atlantic Ocean by airplane, June 17–18, 1928; also a view of the Lee Mansion, the home of the Marblehead Historical Society.

From Godfrey Harrison, of London, England, through Frederic Bancroft, of Washington, D. C., a photograph of his father, Frederic Harrison, a Corresponding Member of this Society.

A paper was read by Mr. FUESS on

SOME FORGOTTEN POLITICAL ESSAYS BY LOWELL.

In the autumn of 1857, James Russell Lowell, who, although not yet forty, had recently succeeded Longfellow in his Professorship at Harvard, undertook the management of the newly established *Atlantic Monthly*, adding the editorial responsibilities to his regular college duties. On the title-page of the first issue — which appeared in late October — was printed a sub-heading, "A Magazine of Literature, Art, and Politics." With the notable traditions which have grown up around the *Atlantic* in the realms of "Literature" and "Art," this paper has nothing to do; but the attitude of that publication towards "Politics" is not, perhaps, so well understood. To a friend, shortly before the enterprise was started, Lowell had written: "The magazine is going to be free without being fanatical, and we hope to unite in it all available talent of all shades of opinion." On the back cover of the November number, furthermore, the editor said: "In politics, the *Atlantic* will be the organ of no party or clique. . . . It will deal frankly with persons and parties." To this praiseworthy ideal, it was impossible for a man of Lowell's positive and aggressive nature to be faithful, especially at a period when the problems raised by the existence of negro slavery seemed so vital that, if the question were introduced at all, no thoughtful person could well remain entirely neutral.

At the moment when the *Atlantic*, under such auspices, made its bow to the public, the controversy over slavery was always smouldering and frequently bursting into sudden blaze. A series of momentous measures, including the Fugitive Slave Law, the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, and the Dred Scott Decision, as well as the formation of the Republican Party, had crystallized the views of Massachusetts citizens. Douglas's theory of "Popular Sovereignty," with all its implications, had puzzled even his supporters. Garrison, after burning the Constitution

of the United States at Framingham, on July 4, 1854, had been the animating spirit of the Disunion Convention called at Worcester, January 15, 1857, to consider "the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation between the Free and Slave States." The rivalry for the Democratic nomination for President in 1860, not only on the part of Douglas, who was in a commanding position, but also on that of his more active competitors, had already begun. It was at this really exciting time that Lowell, who had been since 1840, as Mr. Greenslet has said, "a whole-hearted adherent of the abolition cause," placed the *Atlantic* unequivocally on the side of antislavery. It was with this step in mind, perhaps, that he had written Charles Eliot Norton, immediately after the Dred Scott Decision, "So now the lists are open, and we shall soon find where the tougher lance-shafts are grown, North or South." That the Northern lances were of tough fiber he was soon to prove.

Massachusetts was then convalescing from an acute attack of religious and political bigotry, which had given it a "Know Nothing" Governor, Henry J. Gardner, for three successive years — 1855, 1856, and 1857. But the slavery issue, temporarily subordinated during the battle over Nativism, was again bringing out honest differences of opinion. Emerson wrote in his Journal for January 28, 1858, "The politics of Massachusetts are cowardly," just as to-day a vigorous "dry," in his missionary zeal, might believe all "wets" to be misled by the Devil. But not all the intelligence of New England was with Emerson, Garrison, and Lowell. The mantle of Daniel Webster, too capacious for any one inheritor, had fallen upon the shoulders of three gifted men — Edward Everett, Rufus Choate, and Caleb Cushing — each of whom had been Webster's trusted friend and adviser. All of them, like Webster, were college graduates and scholars — the two are unfortunately not always synonymous — and they represented in their ancestry and background the best of conservative New England traditions. All three were opposed to slavery on humanitarian grounds; on the other hand, they had no sympathy with what they felt to be the fanatical and destructive abolitionism advocated by Garrison. They had all been in at the birth of the Whig Party and had served it in Congress; but two of

them — Choate and Cushing — had voted for Buchanan in 1856, and they all regarded the Republican Party with suspicion. Their position is easily explained. They deplored the continued agitation of an institution which, although they were repelled by it, was, in their opinion, impossible to eradicate without wrecking the Union; and they were disciples of Webster in their conviction that, at the moment, the important aim was to keep the Union intact. Perfectly sincere in their beliefs, they often displayed much courage in holding their ground in the face of hostile criticism.

It was Lowell's own decision that all articles in the *Atlantic* should be anonymous. Later, however, an Index was prepared, and the authorship of most of them is not now difficult to trace. In the second number of the magazine the anti-slavery campaign was opened with an essay entitled *When Will It End?,* written by Edmund Quincy. It was an indictment of slavery so scathing that Norton wrote to Clough regarding it, "It is a new thing to see a magazine in this country take such ground." Still another article, called *A Brief Review of the Kansas Usurpation,* appeared in Volume I, Number 4, for February, 1858, written by Parke Godwin, of New York City, in condemnation of Democratic policies.

So far, Lowell had kept silent. In the issue for April, 1858, however, was an essay under the title *Mr. Buchanan's Administration,* which puzzled me very much when I first came across it in an old bound volume of the periodical. Surely there were paragraphs, homely in language but urbane in manner, which could have been written by no one but the author of the *Biglow Papers;* yet there were other sections which did not bear the stamp of his personality. Later I discovered that the first half was prepared by Parke Godwin and the second half by Lowell. Lowell's section is entirely serious, with little of his racy wit to lend it savor, but the line of demarkation between him and his collaborator cannot be missed. In July, 1858, Lowell published an article on *The American Tract Society,* dealing with the split in that organization over the question whether it should disseminate pamphlets on slavery. But he had not, as yet, discovered the text for which he was looking. That was now to come.

Independence Day in 1858 released a torrent of oratory

upon a nation quite accustomed to such periodical inundations. The anniversary itself came upon a Sunday; but Monday, which was warm and bright, offered an equally propitious opportunity for rhetoric. Caleb Cushing declaimed before the Tammany Society, in Manhattan; Henry Ward Beecher was the orator in Brooklyn; and even Jefferson Davis, on board the ship *Joseph Whitney,* bound for the last vacation in Maine which he was destined to enjoy, was prevailed upon by his fellow passengers to regale them with his views on the state of the Union. In Boston, according to a custom of long standing, the city held an official celebration in Music Hall, with John S. Holmes, Esquire, as the spellbinder. But the Young Men's Democratic Club, dissatisfied with some strongly partisan sentiment which had been voiced the year before, resolved to hold ceremonies of their own. They secured, as their chief attraction, the great Rufus Choate, then much debilitated by the illness which was to bring about his death not much more than a twelvemonth later. An impressive parade formed at the Mercantile Building, on Summer Street, led by marshals wearing " black hats, black dress coats, white vests, and pantaloons," adorned with badges and carrying batons. The line of march was through Chauncy, Essex, Washington, Court, and Tremont Streets, to Tremont Temple, where, on the platform, sat Edward Everett, William Appleton, Isaac Davis, and other Boston dignitaries. Choate, feeble though he was, spoke for nearly two hours, with something of his former fervor and solemnity. His voice, once like a clarion peal, was weakened, and his gestures were less animated than they had been in his prime; but Everett, who was a competent judge of eloquence, said, after the speech was over, " The charmed silence seemed for a while to prolong the charming strain, and it was some moments before I was willing to admit that the stops were closed and the keys hushed."

In the late afternoon, there was an elaborate dinner at the Revere House, with Everett as one of the speakers, and a toast was appropriately drunk to the memory of the " God-like Webster." There was also a colorful regatta, at which the Harvard crew, with Charles William Eliot in the shell, covered itself with glory. A balloon ascension had been advertised, but the balloon " Old America " stubbornly refused to leave the earth,

to the delight of local wits, who made much of the failure. In the evening there were fireworks on the Common.

But Lowell was not interested in races or illuminations. He did not hear either Holmes or Choate, but he read their speeches in the newspapers. Choate, who was a sincere, thoughtful, and patriotic man, had seized the occasion to condemn, as Webster would have done under similar circumstances, all sectionalism, whether on the part of slaveholders or of abolitionists, and, with the full consciousness that it was probably his last public address, had made an impassioned appeal for national unity. Towards the close, with studied casualness, he had referred to the dispute between North and South as "this shadow that flits across our grasses and is gone, this shallow ripple that darkens the surface of our broad and widening stream." Lowell, who was never in the extreme wing of the abolitionists, had none of the blind and deaf militancy which made Garrison such a potent force; but to him the controversy over slavery was to be taken more seriously, and he did not hesitate to say so.

Lowell's article, called *The Pocket-Celebration of the Fourth,* was printed in the issue for August, 1858 (Volume II, Number 10). The writing of it was done, as he expressed it, "with a flowing pen"; indeed the essay was ready and printed within two weeks after Choate's oration had been delivered, and it could not have been very carefully revised. In spite of its anonymity, few intelligent Bostonians could have been in doubt as to its authorship. In literary and political warfare, Lowell adopted methods not unlike those employed by Mr. Mencken. He did not try to meet Choate's arguments; he endeavored to overwhelm him by ridicule, banter, sarcasm, irony, rhetorical exaggeration, and burlesque — in fact, all the devices of the experienced controversialist. His richly stored and exuberant mind was not always under control, and he could not resist allusions to out-of-the-ordinary people and things, often straining to be clever. From time to time he relapsed deliberately into the racy colloquialisms which he had already successfully employed in the prose sections of the *Biglow Papers,* and he did not disdain plays on words or even the lowly pun. It was Lowell, it may be interjected, who, in commenting at about this period on Richard Grant White's

Shakespeare, remarked that he would like to apply to a commentator who tampered with a text "the quadrisyllabic name of the brother of Agis, King of Sparta." Professor Felton, with scholarly zeal, looked up this classical reference, only to find that Lowell, whose memory had betrayed him, meant to refer to the father of Agis IV, of Sparta, whose name was *Eudamidas.*

Like a wise and trained disputant, Lowell began by lauding his proposed victim, admitting that the oration showed him as having "drawn that full breath which is, perhaps, possible only under a Grecian sky" and mentioning him as "one of the few whose paragraphs echo with the long-resounding pace of Dryden's coursers." He praised Choate's scholarship and eloquence as a preliminary to disparaging his statesmanship, just as a surgeon administers an anesthetic before cutting off a leg. He asserted that Choate's experience at the Bar had not prepared him to be a statesman or "the public prosecutor of the Republican Party." It was not to be expected that Lowell would avoid personalities, and Choate could not have been pleased to hear himself damned in this sentence: "The member of a party which rarely succeeded in winning, and never in long retaining, the suffrages of the country, he for a time occupied a seat in the Senate, but without justifying the expectations of his friends." Nor could one doubt the point of view of a man who could marvel at "an administration calling itself Democratic, which, with the creed of the Ostend Manifesto for its foreign, and the practice of Kansas for its domestic policy, could yet find a scholar and a gentleman like Mr. Choate to defend it."

There were citizens of Boston who were much offended by the tone which Lowell used towards a man of Choate's eminence. Edward Everett, who, with complete impartiality, had attended both Independence Day celebrations, made the following entry in his Diary for July 23, 1858:

> The article on Mr. Choate's Oration in the *Atlantic Monthly* is written by Mr. James Russell Lowell, Professor of Modern Languages and Belles Lettres at Cambridge. He thinks a lawyer not well qualified to write a 4th of July Oration; but he thinks a young Freesoil Professor is well qualified to sneer at and depreciate Mr.

Choate. Perhaps it would be as well, at least while he is asking for indulgence in reference to the full performance of his duties, if Mr. J. R. Lowell would mind his own business.

A reviewer in the Boston *Post,* for July 20, 1858, probably expressed with some accuracy the sentiments of the Democratic Party when he said:

> In " The Pocket Celebration of the Fourth," the political writer of the *Atlantic* don't like Mr. Choate's Oration. Of course he wouldn't. It is too good for men of his kidney. But the truth is our people are beginning to be a-weary of the red republican music on a single string and the leading freesoilers know it and are angry. The broad nationalism of Cushing, Choate, and Everett is too much for the small, discourteous, and unconstitutional sectionalism of the freesoilers.

As for Lowell himself, however, he was so well satisfied with the essay and its reception that he had proceeded at once with a somewhat similar attack on Caleb Cushing, regarding which he wrote to Charles Eliot Norton, on October 11, 1858, as follows:

> Phillips was so persuaded of the stand given to the *Magazine* by the Choate article that he has been at me ever since for another. So I have been writing a still longer one on Cushing. I think you will like it, — though, on looking over the Choate article this morning, I am inclined to think that on the whole the better of the two. Better as a whole, I mean, for there are passages in this beyond any in that, I think. These personal things are not such as I should choose to do, for they subject me to all manner of vituperation; but one must take what immediate texts the newspapers afford him, and I accepted the responsibility in accepting my post.

The excuse for the Cushing article, which was called *A Sample of Consistency* and was published in the November number, was furnished by a letter, three newspaper columns in length, which Caleb Cushing, just recovering from a sharp illness, had written in declining an invitation to attend a public dinner held at Craytonville, South Carolina, in honor of James L. Orr, then Speaker of the National House of Representatives. Lowell had been disposed to deal with Rufus Choate rather gently; but he frankly disapproved of Caleb Cushing and enjoyed handling him without gloves. It will be remem-

bered that Cushing, after a promising early career as a Whig, had espoused the cause of John Tyler in the latter's quarrel with the dictatorial Henry Clay, and had gone over to the Democratic Party in 1843, for which apostasy he had never been forgiven by his former associates. During the Mexican War, while he was serving with the colors, he had twice run unsuccessfully for Governor of Massachusetts and had been ridiculed, rather maliciously and unfairly, but very cleverly, as "Gineral C." in Lowell's *Biglow Papers*. It had been difficult for people to forget Lowell's lines:

> Gineral C. is a dreffle smart man:
> He's ben on all sides that give places or pelf;
> But consistency still wuz a part of his plan, —
> He's ben true to *one* party, an' thet is himself.

Later, as Pierce's Attorney General, he had antagonized the Massachusetts abolitionists, and he was now being spoken of as a possible candidate for the Presidency in 1860. He was a more dangerous foe than Choate, for he was a shrewder politician, in more robust health, and far more aggressive. Strangely enough, Lowell and Cushing were products of the same class of society and system of education — a fact which possibly accounts for their mutual antipathy.

In assailing Cushing, Lowell was so carried away by polemic fury that he frequently left his humor behind. In his satire there is something more than playfulness. Cushing, in his letter, had expressed himself freely in condemnation of what he called "the anarchical, as well as the immoral and irreligious, tendencies of the anti-slavery agitation," adding that the abolitionists frequently discarded "every duty of government and every obligation of law." Language and doctrine of this nature were not palatable to Lowell. After some rather savage humor on Cushing's verbosity in declining a meal, he accused him of making a disgraceful bid for the Presidency by attempting to win Southern votes, and then went on, in prophetic strain: "Like his great namesake, the son of Jephunneh, he may bring back a gigantic bunch of grapes from this land of large promise and small fulfillment, but we fear they will be of the variety which sets the teeth on edge, and fills the

belly with that east wind which might have been had cheaper at home."

Lowell then proceeded to discuss Cushing's political antecedents and creed, comparing him with Disraeli, then English Chancellor of the Exchequer, in that he had been "consistent only in devotion to success" — a repetition of the accusation which he had made a decade before in the *Biglow Papers*. "Gifted, like him, with various talents," said Lowell, "he has one which overshadows all the rest — the faculty of inspiring a universal want of confidence." Cushing, in his letter, had charged the leaders of the Republican Party with having "no fixed principles, no stable convictions, no samples of consistency to control their acts." This opened up an opportunity for Lowell to retaliate by a survey of Cushing's career, introduced by what is probably the finest political paragraph he ever wrote:

> The imputation of inconsistency is one to which every sound politician and every honest thinker must sooner or later subject himself. Fools and dead men are the only people who never change their opinions or their course of action. The course of great statesmen resembles that of navigable rivers, avoiding immovable obstacles with noble bends of concession, seeking the broad levels of opinion on which men soonest settle and longest dwell, following and marking the almost imperceptible slope of national tendency, yet forever recruited from sources nearer heaven, from summits where the gathered purity of ages lies encamped, and sometimes bursting open paths of progress and civilization through what seem the eternal barriers of both.

Oddly enough, Mr. Ferris Greenslet, in his admirable study of Lowell, says that the latter had Lincoln in mind in this passage; but this seems improbable in view of the fact that it was written before the Lincoln-Douglas debates were over and at a period when the Illinois statesman was very little known in Bostonian circles.

It was, however, of a less commendable sort of inconsistency that Lowell accused Cushing — of the "kind of change that is suspicious because it is so sudden." In scathing phrases he charged Cushing with an unscrupulous and unrestrained ambition which would hesitate at no expedient to gain its end. The

indictment was brutal — as brutal as it was unjust. But Lowell, it must be remembered, was not in quest of truth. He was engaged for the moment in a controversy in which the object to be attained was the complete annihilation of "Northern Men with Southern Principles," as he chose to call Choate and Cushing, and he adopted exaggeration as a legitimate weapon for accomplishing his purpose. The attack on Cushing was neither so spontaneous nor so good-humored as the characterization of Choate, and its palpable vindictiveness somewhat impaired its effect. Lowell wrote to a friend that people were not used to such papers as his on Choate and Cushing. Nor are we more used to them to-day. We can readily imagine the reception which criticisms in a similar tone of Mr. Hoover or Mr. Smith would receive if they were printed in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1928.

These half-forgotten and ephemeral essays are significant chiefly as throwing light on the state of opinion in Massachusetts just before the Civil War. The violence of Southern fire-eaters, like Toombs and Yancey, had its counterpart in the fury of Northern extremists. Even Webster himself, if he had lived, could not have moderated the violence of the dispute, and it was not to be expected that Everett, Choate, and Cushing, even with the best of intentions, could succeed where he had failed. Lowell's articles express one distinct phase of the New England attitude — not so violent, not so audaciously destructive as that of Garrison, but doubtless more representative. The hatreds engendered by the Civil War led even thoughtful men to accept Lowell's strongly partisan estimate of Choate and Cushing as the absolute truth. The temperate and unbiased historian, while alive to Lowell's brilliancy and crispness of language, will keep in mind that judgments formed by agitators in the heat of battle need often to be modified when the fire and the whirlwind are followed by the "still small voice."

Colonel Banks spoke on the "Origin of Christian Names given by the Puritans to their children," and remarks were made by Messrs. Greenough, Lane and Shattuck.

A Dana Editorial.

Mr. Ford read an editorial which had appeared in the *New York Tribune,* December 11, 1858, and which bears all the marks of having been written by Charles A. Dana.

Mr. Ford stated that Charles A. Dana, of the New York *Sun,* had been a member of the Brook Farm community, but carried to New York a strong dislike of Boston, a dislike which he lost few opportunities to show. His manner of expressing it was humorous and his ridicule told more heavily than serious treatment. Before going to the *Sun,* Dana served some years on the *Tribune,* with powers almost equal to those exercised by Greeley, whose long absences, in Washington and the West, threw the conduct of the paper on Dana. In December, 1858, an opera singer — Marie Piccolomini — was winning the applause of Boston, and on one occasion Edward Everett was to give a eulogy on Thomas Dowse, whose library and portrait furnish our Dowse Library, where the society's meetings are held, on the day of Piccolomini's performance of "La Traviata." Actually there was no clash of dates, but Dana saw an opening and took advantage of it in an editorial as follows:

Amusements in Boston are multiplying; and as Boston is a city, the jollity of which is in no danger of running rampant, we make the announcement with joy. Two public performers at present engross the Bostonian mind, viz: Mr. Edward Everett and Mademoiselle Marie Piccolomini. The Bostonian pleasure-seeker is, therefore, placed in the dubious position of the beast with the elongated auricular organs and the La Mancha visage, with a stack of hay upon one side of him, and, alas! a stack of hay upon the other side. What pangs the Boston people might have undergone in the pursuit of Pleasure, the ghost of Parhassius alone knows, had not the lively *Transcript* come to the rescue. On Thursday evening last, Mr. Everett was to discourse anent the life, sufferings, services and death of one Dowse, who was a dresser of leather in Cambridge while living, and who, when he left the skins of this world, including his own, gave his books, the binding of which was uncommonly splendid, to the Society of Massachusetts History. But, unfortunately, the very evening of Mr. Everett's saying was also the evening of Miss Piccolomini's singing, and while he was to enlarge in one place upon Dowse and his donation, she, in another, was to chant the sin and

the sorrow, and to die the death of 'La Traviata.' Embarrassment of riches! Dowse *vs* 'Traviata.' But then Dowse was dead already. Whereas, 'Traviata' would only die after a fascinating struggle, prolonged through four acts, with the King of Terrors. Mademoiselle's voice would be sweet, and so would Mr. Everett's. Marie was a good actress, but Edward was also a good actor. At the theatre there would be music — at the lecture room there would be mind. Now, if there be anything upon which Bostonians positively doat, it is mind. Unfortunately, however, their passion for music is equally great. So the Trimontane virtuosi upon this memorable occasion were in the position of Captain Macheath. They could be perfectly happy with either, 'were the other dear charmer away.' But the other dear charmer would not go away. Athens, if we may use such a low word, in considering a subject so sublime, was evidently in 'a fix.' Here it was that *The Transcript* came to the rescue, and doing what a thousand chests of Oolong and Pekoe could not have done, assuaged the anguish of doubt which was casting a shadow over five hundred tea tables. As the acknowledged arbiter of elegance, *The Transcript* said distinctly — Edward first and Marie afterward if possible. Its decision was based upon the fact that Edward is an orator and Marie only a vocalist, to which we would have demurred, if we had been there, that Edward was also a vocalist, and a very sweet one. Again, *The Transcript* urged that the Society of Boston History is in need of funds. But, pray, is not the Piccolomini, is not Piccolomini *père*, is not the whole Piccolomini family in need of funds? Is not the enterprising *impressario* in need of funds? Mr. Everett, too, has many resources, since he joined our humble profession; while poor Mademoiselle has nothing but the gamut to rely upon.

As this is a disagreeable dilemma, in which the tasteful and patriotic may find themselves involved in other cities and upon future occasions, we would suggest a union of these great attractions, even as the late Mr. Barnum at one time consolidated two menageries, three circuses, one man without legs or arms, and waxen figures of the principal murderers and Presidents of the United States. Mr. Everett might speak for fifteen minutes — Mademoiselle might sing for fifteen minutes, and then both might speak and sing together for fifteen minutes. If that entertainment did not fill the biggest barn of a theatre in the United States, especially if Mr. Ullman displayed his usual genius in the composition of the posters, then it would certainly be in Boeotian localities which would have been proof against even the fascinations of Mr. Manager Crumles. We do not propose this plan so much for our own benefit as for the benefit of Boston, where there is always such a constellation of talent, that nothing but

our consolidation system can resolve the dubiosities of an artistic population.

Mr. FORD also presented a note on

MRS. WARREN'S "THE GROUP."

In turning over the file of the *Massachusetts Spy* for 1775, which had been given to the Society by Isaiah Thomas and was probably his own file, I found in the issue of January 26, 1775, the first part of Mercy Warren's play, *The Group*. In very neat writing someone had inserted on the margin the names of the characters satirized in the piece, the ink being evidently of the period. Knowing the liking of Thomas for all manner of information — the making of a true journalist — the list can be regarded as a document of value and probably more correct than those previously known. This Society possesses a copy of the tract with the names of the characters in manuscript, once belonging to Thomas Hubbard Townsend, with the date May 7, 1776. Of him nothing is known, so no test can be made of his opportunity to know correctly the persons in the mind of Mrs. Warren when writing.[1]

In the Boston Athenaeum are three copies of the *Group* and in each one the names of the characters have been inserted by a contemporary hand. Copy A has no history and merely lists the names. Copy B (B. 616) appears to have had the names in pencil but they were copied in ink on the same page and in a writing not greatly unlike that of Mrs. Warren. In this copy on the blank leaf of signature C has been written: "Samuel Barret Esq. A very ingenious dramatic satire, in well balanced and melodious blank verse, and intitled the 'Group' has been confidently ascribed to his pen. Of this little drama the object was to expose the views and deride the characters of such Officers of the crown, whom ambition [or] avarice, rather than principle or loyalty, incited to support the established government. It would not be absurd praise to declare that the 'Group' may be read by the politician for instruction, and by

[1] The tract came to the Society from George Ticknor in 1858, and he had received it from George W. Erving, son of George Erving and Mary McIntosh Royall, who with John Erving were refugees to Halifax on the British evacuation of Boston. The tract was in Townsend's possession after the evacuation, but may have drifted back into the Erving family. A name has been cut from the title, but the MS. notes were made by Townsend.

the poet [cut off by the border]." It was this note in this particular copy that led Mrs. Warren in July, 1814, to appeal to John Adams when she had seen the memorandum on Barret and realised that her authorship had been so directly questioned.[2] John Adams called for the pamphlet and entered his testimony on the back of the Barret note: "Quincy August 17. 1814. The 'Group,' to my certain knowledge, was written by Mrs. Mercy Warren of Plymouth. So certifies John Adams." Following the leaf on which these two records are found has been inserted the following, in a writing not identified:

> It can be of little consequence to whom ascriptions of authorship are made, if the little drama, the Group, has merit, it is too well known to be controverted, that if that work has merit, it attaches solely to Mrs. M. Warren of Plymouth, whose humor, zeal, energies and abilities were exerted by the use of her pen on all occasions in various shapes in promoting the principles that resulted in the independence of America.

That Copy B may have had manuscript additions at a later day is suggested by the mention among the characters of Harrison Gray Otis, who was barely nine years old when the *Group* was composed.

Copy C (C. 167) in the Athenaeum contains manuscript references in addition to the characters. On the first entrance of a character his true name is noted and others are as follows:

p. 8. Rapatio is Thomas Hutchinson.
Brundo, Govr. Bernard.
9. "false philanthrop," Sewall.
12. Scylla, General Gage.
14. "Half their compeers shall sit pandimonic," has been altered to "Half their compeers shall visit pandemonia."
"Their members formidable," is changed to "Their numbers formidable."
15. "Blyth bosom Dowager" is changed to "Blyth buxom Dowager."
"The haughty strew" becomes "The haughty shrew."
18. "Thy subtle brother," Hutchinson.
20. Nov. anglus, Jno. Adams.
21. "For iv'e a *Brother*," Thos. Hutchinson.

[2] *Warren-Adams Letters*, II. 395.

The lists are brought together in the following columns, the differences in the Athenaeum copies being noted:

Character	*M. H. S.*	*Athenaeum*	*Mass. Spy*
Hazelrod	Oliver	Oliver	Oliver
		(c) Peter Oliver	
Meagre	Ju. Hutchinson	F. Hutchinson	F. Hutchinson
Hateall	Ruggles	Ruggles	Ruggles
Humbug	———	Jno. Erving	Gray
		(c) John Erwin, Jr.	
Spendall	Pepperell	Sir W. Pepperell	Pepperell
Mushroom	Murray	Col. Murray	Murray
		(b) Morrow	
Beau Trumps	Leonard [3]	Jno. Vassal	Leonard
		(b) (c) Danl. Leonard	
Dick	Lechmere	Lechmere	Lechmere
Sapling	Thomas	N. R. Thomas	N. R. Thomas
François	Boutineau	J. Boutineau	Boutineau
Crowbar	Tre. Gray	———	Edson
		(b) (c) Edson	
Dupe	Flucker	T. Flucker	Flucker
Fribble	Erving [4]	Leonard	J. Erving, Jr.
		(b) H. G. Otis	
		c Harrison Gray	
Batteau	Loring	Loring	Loring
Collateralis	Brown	———	Brown
		(b) Brown	
Massachusettensis			Sewall
Proteus			Brattle

Remembering that the lists were contemporaneous with the printing of the play and were of independent origin, it is something to have established an agreement on ten of the fifteen characters. Of the five doubtful names three are assigned to the same person in two of the lists and two are omitted from one list, and given to different persons in two lists. Yet only one wholly new name is offered — Edson, for Crowbar. The Society's copy gives Treasurer Gray for Crowbar, a not inappropriate name for a tax collector. Josiah Edson was a Mandamus Councillor in August, 1774, and therefore a fair mark for the satire of the "good people" of the Province. Indeed Mrs. Warren seems to have had before her when she selected her characters a list of the Councillors, "appointed by his Majesty, agreeable to a late Act of Parliament, but in direct violation of our charter," and thus hit upon a title for her

[3] Originally Erving. [4] Originally Leonard.

piece — *The Group*. With these Councillors as a guide the dramatis personae stand as follows:

Peter Oliver, Chief Justice, Superior Court of Judicature.
Foster Hutchinson, Superior Court of Judicature.
Timothy Ruggles, appointed a General in the Carthagena expedition.
John Erving (both Sr. and Jr. are given, but probably Jr. was the one intended).
Harrison Gray, Treasurer of the Province.
Sir William Pepperrell, the younger.
John Murray.
Daniel Leonard, "Massachusettensis."
William Vassall — not John, as in the Society's copy.
Richard Lechmere.
Nathaniel Ray Thomas, of Marshfield.
James Boutineau.
Josiah Edson.
Thomas Flucker, Secretary of Massachusetts Bay.
Joshua Loring.
William Browne, Superior Court of Judicature and Governor of the Bermuda Islands.

All became refugees or absentee loyalists.

Some of the titles selected by Mrs. Warren for her characters are pertinent and others are difficult to explain. Chief Justice Hazelrod, Judge Meagre, Sir Sparrow Spendall and Monsieur de François are fitting descriptions and must have proved slender disguises to the persons intended. Commodore Batteau is confirmed by a mention in a letter of Nathaniel Noyes, August 30, 1774: "Mr. Loring the drunken Commodore of Roxbury was waited on, by numbers of People, who gave him till Thursday night to consider of it, and if he did not resign, they would destroy his house." [5] The reference is colored by spite, for Loring attained rank in the British service; but as Commodore of Roxbury he must have had some appointment suggesting so grotesque a combination. Dick, the Publican, all agree, was Richard Lechmere of Salem and Cambridge, who married Mary Phips in 1754; and the word publican may mean a tax collector or a keeper of a public house — the latter of which Lechmere was not.

An examination of the Society's copy of *The Group* showed other manuscript notes of interest. On p. 3, Rapatio is ex-

[5] *New England Hist. Gen. Register*, XLIII. 147.

plained as Hutchinson, probably the Lieutenant Governor; on p. 8, Brundo is Francis Bernard; on p. 15, Silvia is the wife of N. R. Thomas, and "staid at Marshfield;" on the same page Kate is the wife of Timothy Ruggles, "a termagant scold," whose name I have not found elsewhere, though she was a widow when Ruggles married her; on p. 16, Columbia is rather unnecessarily explained as "America so called because first discovered by Columbus;" and on p. 20, Massachusettensis, Philarene, Senex and Grotius are described as "Tory Scriblers in the Paper," without indication of the writers.

The first part of *The Group* — through the first scene of the second act — appeared in the *Boston Gazette,* January 23, 1775, or more than five months after the appointment (August 9, 1774) of the Mandamus Councillors. It had been written earlier, for James Warren could send a copy to John Adams on January 15, and within a month the name of the author was passing by gossip. That first part was printed in pamphlet form in New York by John Anderson. The second part, certainly ready by March 15, and completing the second act, never appeared in the newspapers, the immediate interest in the subject having given place to more exciting events and actual hostilities with the mother country. The publication in Boston of the expanded piece was simply announced in the *Boston Gazette,* April 3, 1775, as follows: "This Day Published, And Sold by the Printers hereof; [Price Nine Coppers.] The GROUP." It was reprinted in Philadelphia, with the mystery imprint of "Jamaica, Printed; Philadelphia, Reprinted," by James Humphreys, Jr., who was printer to the king during the British occupation of that place.

A reference is found in one of James Warren's letters to John Adams, October 28, 1775: "The author has stole an hour now and then since we came to town to proceed as far as you'll see, on purpose to unbend your mind a little, by amusements of a poetical kind well knowing you have a taste for them. You have the two acts in print, you wrote for last summer, and two subsequent ones and the Epilogue. The whole are at your disposition." The sentences suggest an addition to *The Group,* for a farce attributed to Mrs. Warren — *The Blockheads: or the affrighted officers* — was not printed until 1776. In the

Continental Journal (Boston), June 13, 1776, is found the announcement: "Monday next [17] will be published, and sold by J. Gill, in Queen-Street. The Blockheads: or, the Affrighted Officers. A Farce." This farce consists of three acts, a Prologue and an Epilogue. It is hardly possible that two acts could have been in print as early as October, 1775.

In the "Dramatis Personae" of *The Blockheads* occur some of the names of *The Group* — Dupe and Meagre — and after each of the characters occurs a suggestion of the real person intended. As a trial explanation the following is offered:

Captain Bashaw,	Ad——l.	Shuldham
Puff,	G——l.	Howe
Officers:		
L—d Dapper,	L——d P——y.	Percy
Shallow,	G——t.	Grant
Dupe,	Who you please.	
Refugees and Friends to Government:		
Meagre,	G——y.	Gray
Surly,	R——s.	Ruggles
Briagdier Paunch,	B——e.	Brattle
Bonny,	M——y.	Murray
Simple,	E——n.	Edson
Jemima,	Wife to Simple.	
Tabitha,	Her Daughter.	
Dorsa,	Her Maid.	

The author on p. 13 makes Dupe say to B——e: "Now B——e, here is more matter for humor, you may give us a *second edition* of your farce;" and the Prologue recites:

Oh yes — they thought so too — for lack-a-day,
Their gen'ral turn'd the blockade *to a* play.

The references are to the farce of *The Blockade of Boston,* written by some British officers and performed with unexpected accompaniments.[6] Brattle may have had a share in the composition or performance, but too much stress cannot be placed upon the casual references. Evidently the *Blockade of Boston* gave an opportunity to pun in *Blockheads.*[7] The authorship of *The Blockheads* has been assigned to Mrs. War-

[6] Frothingham, *Siege of Boston,* 287.

[7] A copy of *The Blockheads* in the Society also came from George Ticknor, who had received it from G. W. Erving.

ren, but there is no evidence of her having had any share in it, and the vulgarity of the text precludes her being entirely responsible for it. Putting that tract out of the question, to what did General Warren refer, unless to an enlarged *Group?*

A third dramatic piece, also attributed to Mrs. Warren, was: The | Motley | Assembly, | a | Farce. | Published | For the | Entertainment | Of the Curious. Boston: | Printed and Sold by Nathaniel Coverley, in | Newbury-Street, | M, DCC, LXXIX. There are two copies with the characters written, but they do not entirely agree in detail, as the following comparison proves:

Character	*M. H. S.*	*A. A. S.*
Esq. Runt	Inman	Mr. Inman
Turncoat	Hubbard	Dan. Hubb—d
Bubble	Swan	Jas. Sw—n
Capt. Aid	Corthwright	———
Capt. Careless	Ammiel	———
Mrs. Flourish	Old Deblois	Mrs. D—bs.
Mrs. Taxall	Sheefe	Mrs. S—h—fe.
Mrs. Bubble	Mrs. Swan	———
Miss P——	Miss Hubbard	———
Miss B——	Hubbard	———
Miss Flourish	—ing Sheefe	Miss B—y D—bs.
Miss Taxall	Young Sheef	Miss S—f—e.
Miss Doggrel	Bowdoin	Perez Morton's wife.
Tab	Sheife	Sally S—f—e.
Betty	———	

Ralph Inman is mentioned a number of times in Rowe's *Diary,* as is also Daniel Hubbard, a warden of Trinity Church. In July, 1776, both had been represented by the Committee of Correspondnce of Boston as enemies of the United States of America.[8] Mrs. Sheaffe, Susanna Child Sheaffe, was a widow, her husband, William Sheaffe, Deputy Collector of the Customs, having died in 1771, leaving her with a large family and in distress. Her eldest daughter, Susanna — Miss Taxall of the farce — married Capt. Ponsonby Molesworth of the 29th Regiment, but the romantic story of his having seen her on the landing of a British Regiment in Boston and then becoming enamoured of her can hardly be true, as his

[8] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Register,* XXX. 442.

regiment in 1774 and 1775 was not in America and not before 1776 is it listed among the British troops in America. Sally — Tab in the play — is mentioned by Sabine, but without further information. Mrs. Deblois, wife of Gilbert Deblois, a refugee from Boston in 1776, was Ann Coffin, but little is known of the family of this Boston merchant. Two letters from Benedict Arnold to the daughter, Elizabeth, written in 1778, are in the Society.

NOVEMBER MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, November 8, 1928, at 3 P.M. In the absence of the President and both Vice Presidents, Mr. MORISON was chosen to preside.

The record of the October meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, the completed catalogue of the Shattuck Family and Caleb Davis papers, seventy-five volumes in all, given by him and his late brother, Dr. George Brune Shattuck. The cards number about five thousand of the Shattuck papers and about ten thousand of the Davis.

From Matt B. Jones, of Newton, pages 1 to 20 of Michael Wigglesworth's *Day of Doom,* printed at Norwich, Conn., in 1777.

From Miss Alice Stone Blackwell, the records of a Juvenile Anti-Slavery Society, July 29, 1837–August 10, 1838, and imperfect files of the *Liberator,* 1837–1870, and *National Anti-Slavery Standard,* 1840–1864.

From Ephraim Emerton, a photograph of the warrant signed by Lieut. Gov. William Stoughton, to George Corwin, Sheriff of Essex County, to execute, by hanging, Bridget Bishop, alias Olliver, June 10, 1692, being convicted of witchcraft.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From William C. Endicott, a large framed photograph of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw.

From Miss Ellen A. Robbins Stone, of Lexington, photographs of Deacon Stillman Lothrop (1780–1853), of Boston, of his wife Elizabeth Berry Lothrop (1780–1849), of their son Rev. Stillman Luther Lothrop (1811–1859), of his wife Abigail Robbins Lothrop (1814–1903), and of the Lothrop coat of arms.

From the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, through President Matt B. Jones, a badge worn at the fifteenth annual meeting of the Telephone Pioneers of America, held in Boston, November 2–3, 1928.

From Delano Wight, a half-dollar struck to commemorate the Oregon Trail.

From Phillips Academy, Andover, through Claude M. Fuess, a guest medal worn at its 150th anniversary.

From Grenville H. Norcross, two photographs of Samuel Johnson (1826–1899) of the firm of C. F. Hovey & Company.

From Charles F. Read, photostats of the portraits of Gen. William Hull and Commodore Isaac Hull by Gilbert Stuart.

The chairman announced the deaths of the following members: Dr. John Warren, elected a Resident Member on December 8, 1927, died on July 17, 1928; Sir George Otto Trevelyan, elected a Corresponding Member on December 9, 1880, and transferred to Honorary Membership on November 9, 1889, died on August 16, 1928; William Milligan Sloane, elected a Corresponding Member on May 11, 1911, died on September 11, 1928.

Dr. Allen read a paper on "Captain Isaac Hull's Mission to the Netherlands in 1811," being a chapter from his forthcoming life of Isaac Hull.

Mr. Norcross contributed copies of three letters from his collection, two from Mrs. John Adams and one from Brigadier General Hull.

From Abigail Adams.

Philadelphia, 25 July, 1797.

My Dear Sir, — I have the pleasure to inform you that your request is complied with. I did not fail on my arrival here, to communicate to the president a conversation which your Mamma had with me just before I left Home: there has been no opening untill *the removal* of Mr. Jarvis.[1] The publick will be *no loosers* I presume by the exchange. His Successor's honour, integrity, and probity are there Sure pledge and Security. Without these qualities the president would not knowingly appoint to office any man, however nearly connected, or otherways bound to him.

Present my kind regards to your Father and Mother and my

[1] Ebenezer Storer of Massachusetts was nominated by the President, November 24, 1797, to be Inspector of Survey No. 3 in that State, in place of Leonard Jarvis, dismissed. The letter shows that Storer was appointed in the summer, during the recess of the Senate.

love to the young Ladies. I hope soon to see my Dear Friends in Boston and Quincy.

We commence our Journey tomorrow. I do not know how long we shall be on our journey as the weather is very Hot. I am, sir, Your Friend, etc.

ABIGAIL ADAMS.

QUINCY, August 25th, 1809.

MY DEAR MADAM, — Inclosed is a Letter which came under cover to the president. I take an early opportunity to forward it to you. I presume it is, from your son. At the same time I avail myself of the occasion, and write my sympathy, with that which I know you must feel, at the destination of our Children to a foreign Country. The appointment [2] is no doubt an honorable one, and in a public light, I consider it, an acquisition to the Country, having been so frequently exercised in the lesson, of sacrificeing private happiness to the public good. I submit to the destination tho not without the most painfull sensations. At the Age to which both his Father and I have arrived, we can faintly hope to meet again, the loss of his society to us, is no common loss. May the blessing of God Almighty attend them.

I had flattered myself with the hope of seeing you here this summer, the tye is broken but should you have an other inducement to come to Boston, I hope you will pass some time with us at Quincy. We have two Branches to console us for the absence of their parents. John [3] is the youthfull Image of his Dear Mother, a lovely Boy. George [4] is a careless wise Boy very much like his Father. Charles [5] whom they have taken with them is a Stout fellow — resembling both parents — present me to all your family. Most affectionatly your Friend

ABIGAIL ADAMS.

WILLIAM HULL TO ISAAC MCLELLAN.[6]

DETROIT, 11th December, 1806.

DEAR SIR, — When Mr. Parker [7] left this place, I was absent at the District of Erie, reviewing the militia. It was my intention to have written to you by him.

The bank is established here and Mr. Parker agreed that you

[2] The nomination of John Quincy Adams to be Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of St. Petersburgh was confirmed by the Senate June 27, 1809.

[3] John Adams (1803–1834).

[4] George Washington Adams (1801–1829).

[5] Charles Francis Adams (1807–1886).

[6] Hull's son-in-law.

[7] Nathaniel Parker.

should have a large share in it. They have expended about $4000 in the building and there will be very considerable other expenses. I refer you to Mr. Parker for the act of incorporation. I expect it will be confirmed by Congress, but it will not be valid until that event takes place. It will depend on the management whether it will be valuable to the Proprietors or not. If you would visit and reside in this Country, I have no doubt, but you would make it useful. If you should not, I doubt whether it would be for your advantage to invest much property in it. It's bills are now in circulation and have a good credit. I believe none of the specie has been drawn out.[8]

I am thus cautious because I should be very wrong to advise you to any measure which in its operation would be injurious to you. In time this will be a great country. It is a good healthy climate and a fine soil. It only wants industrious inhabitants to make it flourishing. It will depend very much on the measures which Congress adopts whether its population will be rapid or not.

The Indians have been perfectly quiet since my arrival and there is at present no appearance of difficulty from them. There has lately been a good deal of uneasiness among the people of this place particularly. It has been occasioned by the measure of the Government respecting the distribution of lots given by Congress to the inhabitants of Detroit. The resentments of the people have principally been pointed against the Chief Justice.[9] The legislative board is about adjourning and have committed the whole business to me. This appears to be very agreeable to the people and I have no doubt it will be settled in a satisfactory manner.

Mrs. Hull [10] enjoys remarkable good health. Abraham, Ann and Julia are all perfectly well. Judge Bates [11] has gone to visit his friends in Virginia. He is a most excellent man and when he returns will probably be connected with the family. Colo. Hull [12] likewise enjoys good health; perhaps it is necessary I should tell you who this Colo. Hull is. Your little brother Abraham has arrived to that rank. He is likewise a grave counselor in the law. He appears

[8] On this first bank of Detroit see *Michigan Pioneer Collections,* v. 209; VIII. 571. The institution languished through three years, when its charter was taken away by Congress. Hull subscribed for five shares.

[9] Augustus B. Woodward (*d. c.* 1826).

[10] Sarah, daughter of Abraham and Sarah (Dyer) Fuller, of Newton, Mass. Seven daughters and one son were the children of General Hull, all of whom lived to maturity. Dexter, *Yale Biographies and Annals,* III. 445.

[11] Frederick Bates (1777–1825), born in Belmont, Va.

[12] Abraham Fuller Hull, killed July 25, 1814, in the battle at Niagara Falls, Upper Canada.

with great advantage at the bar and is employed in all the important business. He has alone been employed in three capital trials before the Supreme Court. He has saved the lives of each of them. The last was the trial of Mashonee, the first indian Chief of the Country. He was tried for the murder of one of his nation at this place. I attended the trial which was very interesting. Your mother and Ann likewise attended. Mr. Hull spoke about three hours in his defense without resting very much to the admiration of the indians. The jury soon returned with a verdict of not guilty. It was an interesting scene, the next day, to see the Chief, with his wives and children, come and offer their gratitude to the young advocate.[13] He has really acquired an uncommon degree of legal knowledge and delivers it out to great advantage. He wants nothing but application to be a very distinguished man in any part of our country. This, I am sure will be gratifying to you and his sisters. I never have known an instance of so young a man appearing to so great advantage. He had already acquired a good deal of property by his business.

Was it not for my separation from so many of my children, our situation here would be very pleasant.

I am building a large brick house, which we shall move into in the spring. If it is thought advisable and Caroline wishes to come to this Country next May will be the best time. Judge Bates, I believe will return by New York and invites Maria to accompany him. If so, will it not be best for Caroline to go to New York early in April and accompany them. I leave the arrangement with respect to Caroline to you and Eliza. If you could make any arrangements which would allow you to come here with your family it would be highly gratifying to us. We all desire most affectionately to be remembered to you, dear Eliza, Caroline and your two sons. I am, most sincerely and affectionately,

WILLIAM HULL.

Colonel BANKS called attention to the fact that no Life of Benedict Arnold indicated where he was buried. The *Gentle-*

[13] Mr. George B. Catlin, of Detroit, Mich., writes that the Pottawatamie chief was known under various names, following the attempts of the person writing to get the pronunciation. Maconse or Maconce, according to the accepted spelling, attended a council held in Detroit, June 14, 1778, summoned by Henry Hamilton, then British lieutenant-governor of the district, to incite the Indians against the Americans. He was at the massacre at River Raisin and was drowned about 1825 in the Clinton River, after a drunken debauch. Mr. Catlin gives further interesting information on the relations between the settlers and the Indians in Michigan.

man's Magazine for June, 1801, carried a notice of the funeral in that month, in which there were seven funeral coaches and four state carriages in the cavalcade. It was stated that he was buried at Brampton (a suburb of London), but as no church or cemetery existed in that locality as early as that date the place of his interment is not known. The Town Clerk of Kensington, in which Brampton is situated, informed the speaker that there were numerous inquiries from Americans on this point, but there was no official knowledge of the last resting place of this more or less famous American.

New England Catechisms.

Mr. Ford stated that he had received letters from Mr. Lemuel A. Welles, of New York, in which he described a hitherto unknown edition of a *Short Catechism,* prepared by the Rev. Thomas Shepard, pastor of the Cambridge Church and printed in 1654 by Samuel Green. Not only is it an early Cambridge imprint, but it also gives the original text of a *Catechism* which enjoyed some consideration in the seventeenth century. It appeared in London issues in 1648, 1650, 1655 and 1695, and in a Boston issue in 1747. The title of the first edition reads as follows:

A Short | Catechism | familiarly | teaching the | Knowledg | of God, and of our Selves. | First | Composed, and improved, for the pri- | vate instruction of the younger sort in | Cambridg in New-England. | By Thomas Shepard late faith- | full Pastour of the Church of Christ there. | And now published at the earnest desire | of sundry well-affected persons. | Together | With the Doctrine of Conviction of Sin, and | Righteousness, and Judgment. Delivered | in Divers Sermons upon John 16. 8. 9. 10. 11. and | thence Summarily drawn into Quest: and Answers | by the same Authour. | . . . | Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg in | New-England. 1654

The *Catechism* is contained in pp. 1–26 and the *Sermon* in pp. 27–60.

Together with this unknown piece by Thomas Shepard, Mr. Welles found a second *Catechism,* hitherto known by a mention of it by Rev. Thomas Prince. It is also a *Short Catechism,* prepared by the Rev. James Noyes, of Newbury, and appeared in 1661, printed in Cambridge by Samuel Green

The next day being the 21ſt of *November*, the Houſe, for making out the *General Charge* mentioned in the foregoing *Addreſs*, agreed upon the following *Articles* againſt the *LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR*.

I

That he hath by a Miſconſtruction of our Laws, as much as in him lay, perverted *Many* of them, *particularly*, *That* for ſettling the Title and Bounds of Lands, which makes it a Condition of the *Patents*, that *THEY* are to forfeit them, if *THEY fail Three Years of paying their Quitt-Rents*, which he hath endeavoured to extend to Lands granted before that Law, which have no ſuch Condition in their Patent or Grant.

II

His Conſtruction of the Law for finiſhing the Governour's Houſe, whereby he Laviſhes away the Country's Money *contrary to the intent of the Law*, and even *Beyond what the words of the Law will bear*, and hath hitherto refuſed any Redreſs therein.

III

That he Endeavoured to *DETER* the *JUSTICES* of the Country, from *Levying the Burgeſſes Salary ſettled by Law.*

IV

That he hath by Provoking SPEECHES and *MESSAGES Abuſed the Houſe of Burgeſſes*, and *Thrown undeſerved Reflections upon them.*

The *LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR's* SPEECH to the *Aſſembly*, on the *1ſt of December* 1718. ſo far as it relates to their *Addreſs* and *Articles* againſt him.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Burgeſſes

The late Singular Management and Extraordinary Proceedings in your Houſe neceſſarily require; that my concluding *SPEECH* to this Seſſion ſhould diſplay ſome Paſſages in my *Adminiſtration*, and your *Conduct*, in order to vindicate *my ſelf*, and the *Country* from the *Imputations* of an *OPPRESSING GOVERNOR* and a *DISCONTENTED PEOPLE.*

Far from being diſturbed at your *Violent Impeachments*, I take *This* to be an happy *Criſis*, when the *Country* will be no longer impoſed upon by *Malicious Whiſperers, Clandeſtine Informers, and Anonymous Libellers of Government*: for none could have been more *Eager* than my preſent *Accuſers* to *Lay open* every Act of *Male-Adminiſtration*, and it cannot be doubted, but that they have now drawn up the *TOTAL* of my *CHARGE.*

Yet where is one *Oppreſſing Act, or Single Proof of Publick Diſcontent ſet forth? When did an Aſſembly ever ſit before, without receiving* ſome *One Grievance* from the *People*? Or *when* did their *Repreſentatives acknowledge the Peaceful and flouriſhing condition of the Colony more remarkably, than You your ſelves* have done *this Year?* And *yet this is the Juncture you have choſen* to *DREAM* of *Oppreſſion and Diſcontent.*

I know

I know ſome *Seditious Spirits* have long grudged me the Honour of Conducting this PROVINCE (by the *Bleſſing of GOD*) to it's *preſent happy State*; and 'tis not very unaccountable, that a *Catiline-Crew* of *Male-Contents* ſhould *engage a few unwary men* to *joyn in their Conſpiracy* for ſhifting the Adminiſtration into other Hands; but ſtill Secure, under the *Protection* of my PRINCE's *Juſtice*. I remain *undaunted* at all Their *Angry Doings*, and tho' I'm a *COMMANDER IN CHIEF*, without a *Single Centinel to defend me in this Dominion*, Yet ſeeing ſo many *Worthy Gentlemen* Proteſt againſt their Proceedings, I dare now tell the *Guilty* to their faces, that I will ſtill *Diſcountenance* all *ſuch as I diſcover to be undutiful to their* PRINCE, or *ungrateful to their Mother-Country* and will continue to oppoſe that *RESTLESS FACTION*, which ſeems to be *unhappily entailed upon this Government*, and whoſe *Machinations* have in all *Governors times diſturbed the publick Tranquillity of the Colony*, meerly *To gratify* their own *Private Reſentments.*

'Tis fit the means Theſe Men have uſed to carry their preſent Point, with the nature of their *Charge* and the *Articles* they exhibit, to make the ſame good, *be fairly laid open to the World.*

At the *Opening of this Seſſion*, I gave you to underſtand, that I had *nought to lay before you*; and your *Houſe* ſeemed ſo little diſpoſed to go upon buſineſs, that you began very early to refer Matters to the conſideration of the next *Aſſembly*: So that *many Members apprehending this would be a Short Seſſion, and wherein nothing of moment would be tranſacted, refrained from coming*, and *others got Leave to return home, which* (I find *was readily granted, to ſuch, as were judged not eaſy to be brought into the Meaſures, that were then forming with the utmoſt Secrecy.*

When your Houſe was thus Model'd, a Paper called an Addreſs, to the KING, and a Duplicate thereof fairly drawn up to be ſign'd, was produced by a *Member* in a moſt *Surpriſing and Extraordinary manner*, without any previous Motion to prepare and bring it in; and This containing a *General Complaint*, as well of your *GOVERNOR* in *ENGLAND*, as againſt your *LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR* here, was admitted, and Your *Speaker commanded*, immediately *to Sign* the ſame, *without debating* firſt upon the *Particular Charges*, but *referring them to be argued the next day.*

Thus the *Secret Managers* of this PLOTT, contrived to have the *Judgment firſt Subſcribed*, and the *Merits of the Cauſe tryed afterwards*, and by a *bare ſight* of a long *Roll of Articles* drew ſome *too credulous* Perſons, to vote for paſſing the *ADDRESS*: and tho' the next day, upon *Examining the ARTICLES*, *three fourths* of them were ſtruck out as *groundleſs*, Yet ſtill the Addreſs being ſigned, the *Remainder*, like the *Sibyl's Books*, muſt ſerve to make up the *Sum of the Charge.*

Wherefore I have now only *four Articles* to take notice of, Yet as we *Both Appeal to CÆSAR*, I will not pretend to argue here, Points which can *be* fairly in Judgment before my ROYAL MASTER; but ſhall only Obſerve, *that you have laid your Charge, as if you expected no Determination*, and only aimed to *Deceive your* PRINCE and *Traduce your GOVERNOR.*

In

In the 1st and 2d *ARTICLES*, the Crime alledged is, that *I (who have but a 13th Vote in the Court of Judicature) put a Misconstruction upon two Laws:* In the 3d, that *I have put a Quære* to the Attorny General, *Whether there be a Law for levying your Pay*, and in the 4th, that I have *reflected on your Proceedings.*

As this is the very *Essence of all your Articles* against me, can any unprejudiced Judges say that *if they were fully proved (which I deny they can be)* they would *make good* your heavy *Grievances* set forth in your *Address* to HIS MAJESTY? wherein you alledge, that I have attempted to *Subvert the Constitution* of your *GOVERNMENT*: that I have *Deprived* you of your *Ancient Rights* and *Privileges* and do dayly exercise *Many Hardships* upon HIS MAJESTY'S good Subjects.

But least *Strangers to our Contention* should *apprehend*, there might be some *Attempts towards subverting the Constitution* by misconstruing those two Laws, 'tis necessary to explain, that my *Interpretation of the one*, was no more than to *enforce a due payment of the Kings Quit-rents*, and *of the Other* to *compleat a Building*, *I was impowered by Law to finish.*

If it be the *Right and Priviledge of the Burgesses*, when in their *House*, to *fall foul* on their *GOVERNOR* with *Scurrilous expressions*, to *manifest a Disregard to the Interest of the* CROWN, and to run *unreasonably counter to what their* SOVEREIGN *recommends*; I must then own my Reproofs heretofore ought to have been spared: but *untill I am satisfied that your House is to be allowed such Freedom of Speech and Behaviour to your* PRINCE *and his LIEUTENANT*, I shall think I am in Duty bound *to rebuke you; particularly* for your wilful *transgression of the Rule* YOUR SOVEREIGN had *prescribed for the presenting Your Addresses, when you* the last Summer *transmitted One* to the KING by an *Agent of your own appointment*; and in like manner *for offering me now a re-enacted Law liable to the very objection for which His present Majesty repealed the same.*

Nor must I pass over your *trifling with* SACRED MAJESTY, when you expect your PRINCE *should Audit a thousand pound Accompt of* (Perhaps) 500 *articles, while you will not vouchsafe to consider the same your Selves.*

And surely *it will be reckoned an irreverent presumption in your House, to fly with your Peevish Clamours to* our ROYAL MASTER at home *ere you had fairly applyed to his LIEUTENANT here for Redress, especially after you appear so conscious of your Weak and Groundless Charge, as to deny to give Security for prosecuting the same: For you know, I have offered*, and you *my Accusers* have *refused to stake* a Thousand pounds, to go with the *Merits* of the Cause.

SOME *REMARKABLE PROCEEDINGS*

IN

THE *ASSEMBLY OF VIRGINIA*

Anno 1718.

On the 20th. of *November*, the following *Address*, being brought in by a *Member* of the *House* of *Burgesses*, was immediately put to the *Vote*, *Agreed* to, and *Sign'd* by the Speaker.

TO THE *KING's* MOST EXCELENT *MAJESTY*

THE *Humble Address* of the *House* of *Burgesses.*

May it Please Your MAJESTY.

WE Your Majesty's most Dutiful and Loyal Subjects The *Burgesses* of your Ancient Colony of VIRGINIA now met in Assembly, having *Duely Considered* several Attempts of your *LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR* towards the *Subversion* of the *Constitution* of *OUR GOVERNMENT*, The depriving us of our Ancient *Rights* and *Privileges*, and many *Hardships* which he dayly exercises upon your Majesty's Good Subjects of this COLONY, think we should not Discharge the Duty we owe to our SOVEREIGN, or the Trust reposed in *us* by our *CONSTITUENTS*, if we any longer forbear to lay them before your SACRED PERSON.

And therefore, we humbly hope YOUR MAJESTY will be graciously pleased to receive *Some Particulars* from the *HONOURABLE WILLIAM BYRD ESQ.* whom we have *Desired* to appear in behalf of your *Oppressed Subjects* of this COLONY; being Deprived of any other means *Whereby to make known* to your MAJESTY our *Just Grievances* by our Remote Situation, which Misfortune we find greatly increased by being *Governed* by a *Lieutenant GOVERNOR*, while the *GOVERNOR* in Cheif resides in *GREAT BRITAIN*, to which we attribute many of the *Difficulties* we now *labour under.*

It is with Great Comfort we Behold YOUR MAJESTY earnestly imploying your Self in the Defence of the Liberties, not only of your own *Subjects*, but of all *EUROPE*; and cannot doubt that as your *Goodness* and *Mercy* are already extended to us in *Many Particulars*, so we shall find *IT'S* happy Influences in the Redress of these our *Grievances*, which we are bound in the most Supplicant manner to implore, in such a *Way* as may be most agreeable to *Your Known Wisdom* and *Justice.*

By *Command* of the House of *Burgesses*
DAN: Mc CARTY Speaker.

and Marmaduke Johnson. It does not appear to have been reissued in England, though the writer was also a graduate of Oxford University. It was reprinted in 1676, 1694 and 1714 in Boston. The full title reads:

A Short | Catechism | Composed | By Mr. James Noyes | Late Teacher of the Church of Christ | in | Newbury | For the use of the Children there. | Cambridg | Printed by S. G. and M. J. | 1661. Title, pp. 3–16.

This rather unusual discovery by Mr. Welles, to whom we owe the privilege of reproducing the titles, adds two new issues by the Cambridge printers and thus enriches the long list of New England *Catechisms*.[1]

Early Virginia Item.

Mr. Ford also stated that the first known issue of a Virginia press is the Charge to the Grand Jury, by Gov. William Gooch, at Williamsburg, October 19, 1730. About a month earlier, September 14, 1730, Gooch had sent to his superiors in London, a printed copy of the laws of Virginia, which would "serve as a Specimen of the Product of our Press, where the whole Body of the Laws of the Colony is to be Printed for the publick Service." The printer, William Parks had come to Maryland early in 1726, and from the Governor of that colony he had received an appointment to print the laws of Maryland. He also became the printer of the proceedings of the Lower House of Assembly. Such appointments carried a certain prestige as well as profit and were sought after in each colony or province. In February, 1728, Parks proposed to Virginia to issue the laws of the colony and two years later he set up at Williamsburg the first Virginia press. The acts of the Assembly for 1730 were certainly printed, but no copy, not even the sample sent by Gooch to London, is known to exist. With the year 1730 the history of printing in Virginia begins.

Knowing these facts Mr. Ford was surprised to find in the Public Records Office, London, two leaves of printed matter,

[1] See Wilberforce Eames, "Early New England Catechisms" in 2 *Proceedings* American Antiquarian Society, XII. 76.

purporting to give "Some Remarkable Proceedings in the Assembly of Virginia, Anno 1718 — " twelve years earlier than the "Laws." Not having authority at hand, for there is an almost complete divorce between manuscript and printed works in the Public Records Office, he could not determine whether the missing sample of the Williamsburg press had been found or not. The typography of the two leaves was poor — worn type, badly imposed forms and imperfect inking — not such a product as a practised printer would have turned out, even in that day.

Upon his return to this country Mr. Ford made an examination of the matter and concluded that it was the product of the press of Andrew Bradford, of Philadelphia, who began to print with William Bradford in New York, in 1710, removed to Philadelphia in 1713 and became printer to the Province of Pennsylvania in 1720. Philadelphia had not been a favorable field for the printing press. Andrew Bradford was the fifth printer to try his fortune there. The line of succession had been: William Bradford, 1685–1693; Reynier Jansen, 1699–1705; Tiberius Johnson, 1704–1706, and Joseph Reyners, 1706. The low quality of this newly discovered issue of his shop is eloquent on the encouragement given to the printer's art by the proprietary government; but it may not have been an official commission and a limit may have been placed upon the cost. The distance from Williamsburg to Philadelphia would also make it difficult to dispute over price or product, for at best a few shillings would be involved. At all events this item is a complete novelty, known only by this unique copy in the Public Records Office. As to the dispute involved between Governor and Assembly, it is detailed in Mr. McIlwaine's excellent introduction to the *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia*, 1712–1726, xxxviii. The reproduction of the two leaves was made by the Oxford University Press.

Mr. Tuttle raised a question as to whether William Coddington, merchant of Boston and the defender of Anne Hutchinson against Governor Winthrop, ever lived in Cambridge between April, 1638, when he removed to Rhode Island, and 1645. The suggestion that he might have been there

comes from what seems to be an incomplete erasure of his name at the head of one of the Confessions of Members of the First Church in Cambridge written by Rev. Thomas Shepard, as appears in a small manuscript volume owned by the New England Historic Genealogical Society.

DECEMBER MEETING.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, December 13, 1928, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The record of the November meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mark A. De W. Howe, four letters, Nov. 10–13, 1863, and two newspaper cuttings of his father, Rev. Mark A. De W. Howe, later Bishop of Central Pennsylvania, with reference to the letter of Bishop John Henry Hopkins on slavery.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, the diary of Rev. Jacob Bigelow, of Waltham and Sudbury, written in interleaved almanacs, 1769, 1770, 1771, 1774, 1798, and 1799.

From the income of the Waterston Fund, No. 1, a collection of papers of the Wormeley and Latimer families, 1802–1865, containing correspondence of the families of Admiral Ralph Randolph Wormeley, a native of Virginia, and late in his life a resident of Boston, and of his son-in-law, Admiral Randolph B. Latimer; also letters (1841–1853) from George William Erving and William H. Prescott.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Walter Eliot Thwing, of Roxbury, a photograph taken about 1873, of the children of Albert Edward, Prince of Wales.

From Mrs. Charles G. Cumston, of Switzerland, a full length colored portrait, made mostly on birch bark, supposed to represent William Warren, of the old Boston Museum in the "Silver Spoon," as Jefferson Scattering Batkins, member from Cranberry Centre;[1] and a caricature, in color, much like that of John Randolph of Roanoke by Lieutenant Farley in 1828.

From William Otis Sawtelle, of Haverford, Pennsylvania, four photographs of the building recently erected by him at Little Cranberry Isle, Islesford, Maine, for his Islesford Collection of material, of historical and antiquarian interest relating to Eastern Maine and Mount Desert.

[1] It was acted for the first time in February 16, 1852.

From Robert Gould Shaw, fifteen photographs of Ridge Hill Farms, Wellesley, and other pieces relating to this once well-known place, 1869–1875, owned by William E. Baker, and then popularly known as Baker's Gardens.

From Frederic J. White, of Brookline, a photograph of an original painting, owned by him, of Henry Gibbs (1694–1761), of Watertown, attributed by family tradition to Evert Duyckinck of New York about 1720.

From Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., a large framed portrait of the late President Eliot, engraved by Sidney L. Smith.

From Grenville H. Norcross, two medals.

The President announced that Worthington C. Ford had tendered his resignation as Editor of the Society and that the Council had with regret accepted it.

Professor MORISON then offered the following vote, which was passed:

At the end of 1928 Dr. Worthington C. Ford will have completed a service of twenty years as Editor of the Publications of the Massachusetts Historical Society. During this period he has edited twenty volumes of Proceedings, ten volumes of Collections, and a number of extra volumes such as Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation,* and the *Education of Henry Adams.* It is largely due to his scholarly discrimination and expert guidance that our publications have attained their high place in historical literature. He has enriched our *Proceedings* by numerous contributions of his own, and our Cabinet by procuring gifts and deposits of valuable historical manuscripts. He has greatly extended the usefulness of the Society by introducing the photostat, and editing the Americana series of photostat reproductions. He has at all times generously and courteously placed his wide knowledge of American history and bibliography at the service of members engaged in historical research. His counsel has been of great value in the affairs of the Society.

Learning with deep regret of his resignation we wish to express our gratitude for his long, varied and devoted services to the Society; and our hearty wishes for his future welfare and happiness.

Stephen Willard Phillips of Salem was elected a Resident Member, and Harry Nelson Gay of Rome, Italy, a Corresponding Member of the Society.

Colonel BANKS read a paper on

BRADFORD'S PORTRAYAL OF A RELIGIOUS RIVAL.

In March, 1624, after five weeks on the ocean there arrived in Plymouth a ship, probably the *Charity,* having on board a small number of passengers. One of them was Edward Winslow, returning to the Plantation from a business trip to London. He had as a fellow voyager a gentleman who was destined to fill considerable space in the yet unwritten History of Plymouth Plantation. This individual was the Rev. John Lyford, who was accompanied by his wife and some small children, making a sizable addition to the little community domiciled near the famous Rock. It could be said without much circumlocution that this stranger would prove a fine subject for the polemical propensities of Bradford whenever he gratified his flair for theological exegetics. Indeed it so fell out. Undoubtedly Lyford was entirely unknown to Bradford before their fateful meeting on the Ides of March on the beach at Plymouth, and beyond what Winslow could tell him, all he knew of this clerical intruder on the shepherdless flock was contained in two letters which came in the same ship from London.

One was from James Shirley, Treasurer of the Merchant Adventurers, dated January 25th, 1624–25, conveying some good news to Bradford of a meeting of the Adventurers held on the preceding eighth day of the month, in which good feeling had prevailed and all differences had been smoothed out. So rejoiced was Shirley with this result that he "sent for a pottle of wine which we drank together," and he added, "I would you could do the like." This information, intended as a sort of an emollient which had been prepared to soothe Bradford's suspicions, failed of its purpose because it had a fly in it when it reached Plymouth, as he soon discovered. "They had now provided Lyford and others to send over," was Bradford's first comment as he contemplated the inherent possibilities of the decision of the Adventurers to send over to Plymouth a Church of England clergyman to serve this Brownist flock, which had been without a pastor for four years. The other letter was from Robert Cushman, agent of the Pilgrims in London, who laid this awkward problem

squarely up to Bradford and his associates, with little ceremonial advice, in these terms:

The preacher we have sent is, (we hope), an honest plaine man, though none of the most eminent and rare. About chusing him into office use your own liberty and discretion; he knows he is no officer amongst you, though perhaps custome and universalitie may make him forget himselfe. Mr. Winslow and myselfe gave way to his going, to give contente to some hear, and we see no hurt in it, but only his great charge of children.

We are now officially introduced to an ordained clergyman, late of the Irish Establishment, who had been employed by the Adventurers to serve as minister to the greater part of the inhabitants of the plantation at Plymouth who did not belong to, nor had any interest in the religious dogmas or polity of the Leyden church contingent. It can be established, beyond a reasonable doubt, that these Separatists were in the minority from the first landing at Plymouth, and that the larger body, brought up in the forms of worship of the Established Church, had enjoyed no means of obtaining the sacred offices of the Church in baptism, marriage or in celebrating the Lord's Supper.[1] The leaders of the Leyden party had no

[1] This statement is made without reservation and is capable of proof. Only thirty-five of the one hundred and two passengers of the *Mayflower* came from Leyden. In 1621 the *Fortune* brought thirty-five men, only three of whom were known to have been connected in any way with Leyden. The rest have all been identified with London or the suburbs and were sent over by Weston and Beauchamp unknown to Bradford or his associates. The *Anne* and *Little James* brought over in 1623 sixty passengers, "some of them wives and children" of those already living in Plymouth. Of this new lot thirteen were Oldham, his family and ten associates who "came on their particular." These had no previous connection with Leyden and were independent of its church and known to be hostile to it. That this last lot of so-called "Pilgrims" were not of the Leyden membership is established by Cushman in his letter to Bradford sent in the *Anne* where he says: "some *few* of your old friends are come (in the *Anne*) and so they come droping to you." Of this last shipload Bradford adds this comment: "some were so bad as they were faine to be at charge to send them home againe the next year." This does not indicate them to be religious persons or having connection with the Pilgrim Separatists. After five years search for the ancestry and homes of these passengers (1620, 1621, 1623), the writer has identified the origin of the majority of the seventy-two surviving heads of families or potential heads, the results of which will appear in book form shortly. He is able to say that of these seventy-two heads in 1624 at least fifty were from London and its suburbs and had no discoverable connection with the Separatist body from Leyden.

intention of providing this need, unless their pastor came over, or some one of their peculiar beliefs should fill his place. It is necessary to understand this situation to appreciate what was to follow the sending a Church of England minister to assume this duty.

As the plantation was essentially a business adventure, although undertaken by a religious company as settlers at first, but reinforced later by an entirely different class of people sent here by the Merchants who were behind the affair, it is difficult to see what "hurt" could come of the presence of an ordained minister among them. It is evident that Winslow and Cushman were not exactly enthusiastic about Lyford, but Bradford's reaction to him was one of unfeigned hostility from the day of his landing. If it had been Brown, Smith, or Jones instead of Lyford, the result would have been the same, as all clergymen of the Church of England looked alike to him. Lyford happened to be the victim of the whispering campaign which spreads over twenty solid pages of Bradford's *History* (as printed in the Society's edition), as the author of it tells his story in a detail all out of proportion to its real importance. In the telling of it we have only the unsupported word of a hostile writer, motivated by a bitterness of spirit against anything or anybody who differed from him or his sect in its religious, civil or mundane relations.

Who was this unfortunate victim of the Governor's rancor? The loss of the national and local records of Ireland, probate and parish, deposited in the Four Courts Building, Dublin, deprives us of some material which would throw light on the life of John Lyford in Ireland, but such facts as are available provide a skeleton for biographical clothing. It is probable that he was the John Lyford, B.A. of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1597, and if this be correct he was born about 1574 and therefore was about fifty years of age when he arrived at

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Allerton is classed as a "Pilgrim," although his whole career shows his interests were mercantile, that he was generally in opposition to the authorities, was friendly to Morton, and finally removed from Plymouth to Virginia. Lyford was correct when he stated (in 1624) that "the church (as they call themselves) . . . who are the smalest number in the collony" (Bradford, *History*, 1. 399). If there is any one fact that is demonstrable it is the truth of Lyford's statement as to the numerical minority of the Leyden contingent, from the first settlement.

Plymouth. We know his wife who came with him was born in 1586, and that she may have been his second wife. To this may be added the corroborating evidence of Cushman that he had "a great charge of children," meaning many children, which would not apply to a young married man.

The identity of these children will be taken up later. Whether he was a native of Ireland is undetermined, but such evidence as we have negatives this idea. His eldest son, Obadiah, who also became a clergyman, is said to have been born in Coventry, Warwickshire. The first definite knowledge of Lyford is his appointment in 1613 as Prebendary of Loughall (Levalleaglish), county of Armagh, Ireland. He was collated September 1 and installed October 13 that year. From his will of 1629 it appears that he still owned a lease of property in Loughall in the Manor of Dromully. He also owned lands in Ocorigan, county Tyrone, and we may suppose that he was a resident of Ireland when he was chosen by the Merchant Adventurers to go across the Atlantic on his fateful mission. From collateral evidence it is possible that Richard Andrews, one of the Merchant Adventurers, was his sponsor and advocated his employment by the Company. This is all that can be said of the career of this Irish clergyman prior to the day he disembarked at Plymouth.

And here it may be remarked that there was nothing hostile in the employment of this clergyman by the Company. There were several hundred men, women and children at Plymouth without church privileges and they were entitled to have the sacraments administered to such as wished or needed them. Ministers had accompanied all colonizing companies heretofore and this was the only one that lacked church privileges.

It is important, in this connection, to consider the exigencies of the situation, politically and religiously, as it affected the Adventurers. It is to be understood that the Pilgrims had been refused permission to settle in Virginia, because of their hostility to the Established Church, and that no permission had been granted them to settle at Plymouth — only a semi-official toleration of their project, subject to developments in the future. The Adventurers had no connection, nor any

known sympathy with the religious tenets and plans of the Pilgrims to found a theocratic separatist colony. Doubtless these London merchants were loyal to the Crown and Church and had no intent to challenge the supremacy of either in this colonization scheme, and it was necessary for them to give evidence of this adhesion to the laws of the land and the church, as was done in other colonies, by providing an ordained clergyman to minister to the King's subjects. Otherwise they would be subject to prosecution and perhaps loss of control of their property. The Pilgrims had no legal or moral monopoly of religious practices there. Their contract gave no such privilege or right and they could not justly object to the larger number of residents enjoying the same freedom of worship which they so lustily promulgated and exercised for themselves. Complaint of the lack of the administration of the sacraments had been made to the Adventurers before this year. Bradford had admitted this in his rejoinder to Shirley: "The more is our greefe," he said, "that our pastor is kept from us, by whom we might injoye them." Yet when an ordained clergyman came they quarreled with him for baptizing the child of a planter who was not a member of their sect. Reduced to plain terms the events that followed were based on no higher motive than common and ordinary religious enmity, and Lyford, the ordained clergyman of the Church of England, was anathema the day he put his foot on shore at Plymouth. Bradford regarded his arrival as a challenge to the supremacy of his sect in Plymouth and all his subsequent acts reflected this view. The historian of Plymouth felt that his leadership was at issue. A real rival was now domiciled officially amongst them. What happened afterwards rests solely on the words of Bradford, who in the bitterness of his heart twenty years after, in cold blood, missed no scornful adjective or sarcastic noun to pillory the hapless clergyman for the judgment of posterity. I quote a number of them to establish Bradford's unrestrained hostility: "Sly marchante, full of slanders and accusations, insolent carriage, disturbing the peace, unjust and perfidious, like the hedgehog, conspirator, plotter, dissembling, treacherous, stole letters, impudent face, unrighteous and malignant, played the villain, evil carriage, knave and dissembling Ishmael." If it were the only

instance in which Bradford had indulged in this sort of hysterical characterization of persons to whom he showed his dislike it might be attributed to any cause but the true one, yet it is well known that he has successfully blasted the reputations of several individuals who did not agree with him in his theological dogmas or ran counter to his civil policies. With this setting the opening scene is now portrayed by the Pilgrim historian:

> The 3d. eminente person (which the letters before mention) was the minister which they sent over, by name Mr. John Lyford, of whom and whose doings I must be more large, though I shall abridg things as much as I can. When this man first came a shore, he saluted them with that reverence and humilitie as is seldom to be seen, and indeed made them ashamed, he so bowed and cringed unto them, and would have kissed their hands if they would have suffered him; yea, he wept and shed many tears, blessing God that had brought him to see their faces; and admiring the things they had done in their wants, etc. as if he had been made all of love, and the humblest person in the world. And all the while (if we may judg by his after cariages) he was but like him mentioned in Psa: 10. 10. That croucheth and boweth, that heaps of poore may fall by his might. Or like to that dissembling Ishmaell, who, when he had slain Gedelia, went out weeping and mette them that were coming to offer incence in the house of the Lord; saing, Come to Gedelia, when he ment to slay them.

After listening to this preliminary rehearsal of what is to follow it may be well to understand that Bradford knew nothing against Mr. Lyford when they first met. The mere fact that this was an ordained clergyman was sufficient to put him on suspicion at once. How much of this diatribe can be accepted as true? Hubbard, who had sensed the situation accurately and writing from information derived from some of Plymouth "yet surviving" a half century later, definitely states that the Leyden partisans "took up a great displeasure against him and could not be contented till they had shut their hands of him" (p. 92). Do what he would in this hostile atmosphere, Lyford's "principles in matters of church discipline" were his one and only crime in Bradford's estimation. Nothing in the subsequent career of Lyford after

he left Plymouth gives us any reason to swallow it hook, line and sinker. He lived among the early settlers of the Massachusetts Bay at Cape Anne and Nantasket for several years, respected by all, as far as known, or even hinted by Bradford that the object of his wrath was unwelcome among his later associates elsewhere. He went to Virginia, where he had charge of a church until his death (1629), and no record of complaint against him appears in the records of that colony.

Bradford continues: "they (the Pilgrims) gave him the best entertainment they could (in all simplisitie) and a larger alowans of food out of the store than any other had." The large family of children explains this, but Bradford's context leaves us to conclude that Lyford was an unconscionable trencherman and a glutton. Cushman had informed the Governor that he could use his own discretion about choosing Lyford "into office" as he knows he is "no officer amongst you." Accordingly availing himself of this liberty and discretion, Bradford "caled Mr. Liford also to counsell with them in their waightiest bussineses." In this advisory capacity we are not forced to listen to any criticism of his conduct there and may assume that Lyford did as well as any Church of England clergyman could do in a non-conformist autocracy.

The next act was an expression of desire on the part of Lyford to become identified with what Bradford called "the church hear." Without stressing the point too strongly it might be inquired what sort of a church existed there which had had no pastor, or ordained clergyman, since the arrival of the *Mayflower*. Legally no "church" existed. It was only a small body of religious enthusiasts who had cut loose from England and its church practices and was without the proper administration of the sacraments, as then understood by all the Christian world. This act of Mr. Lyford might be accepted as a gracious effort to identify himself with the needs of these people, but it remains for Bradford to give it the full benefit of his hypercritical attitude:

> After some short time he desired to joyne him selfe a member to the church hear, and was accordingly received. He made a large confession of his faith, and an acknowledgemente of his former disorderly walking, and his being intangled with many corruptions

which had been a burthen to his conscience, and blessed God for this opportunitie of freedom and libertie to injoye the ordinances of God in puritie among his people, with many more shuch like expressions.

As this was the usual form of voicing self-abasement used by persons desiring to be admitted to the Puritan church it is safe to say that the language is Bradford's, and not necessarily Lyford's, in confessing "disorderly walking" and "corruptions," purposely stressed by the narrator to add weight to his indictments. If we accepted literally the "confessions" of everybody who joined the Puritan churches of New England we would be justified in believing that the whole membership was composed of persons who had put both feet through the entire decalogue and had been looking around for more commandments to break. It is not my purpose to discuss the truth of the alleged "confession" of Lyford as it was the stereotyped jargon of the preachers of New England during that and the following century. Bradford chose to make its terms as derogatory as possible.

We may not be far afield if we assume that the Leyden contingent took on this new member with some misgivings. They had no sound reason for refusing him, as he had complied with their ceremonies of joining; but we may be certain that he was not called upon to leave the pews and mount the pulpit platform. That was the function exercised by Elder Brewster and they had no intent to allow this prebendary of the hated Church of England to preach the Gospel to them or administer the Lord's Supper. Lyford had his duty to perform. As he reported later to the Adventurers:

> the church (as they call them selves) . . . are provided for, to their contente, who are the smalest number in the collony, and doe so apropriate the ministrie to them selves, houlding this principle, that the Lord hath not appointed any ordinary ministrie for the conversion of those that are without, so that some of the poor souls have with tears complained of this to me.

Meanwhile we get a bit of fresh air and a new voice crying in this wilderness of obloquy. A contemporary writer who had opportunities for knowing all the parties gives us the fol-

lowing insight into the affront they would impose upon an ordained clergyman in orders before they would permit him to exercise his calling:

> Master Layford was at the Merchants chardge sent to Plimmouth plantation to be their Pastor: But the Brethren, before they would allow of it, would have him first renounce his calling to the office of the Ministery received in England, as hereticall and Papisticall, (so hee confest,) and then to receive a new callinge from them, after their fantasticall invention: which hee refused, alledging and maintaining that his calling as it stood was lawfull, and that hee would not renounce it.

Lyford was evidently a liberal conforming clergyman, for while maintaining the "Church of England to be a true Church" he admitted that in some particulars it was "defective." This concession would not satisfy Bradford nor his sectaries, who held that there was no special qualification in an ordained ministry, unless the ordination was done by themselves, and this writer does not surprise us when he states that this fundamental difference "by this means cancelled their good opinion amongst the number of the Separatists." [2] Bradford was perfectly willing that children should remain unbaptized, that marriages be solemnized by anybody, that the last rites of burial be omitted, that the Holy Communion be neglected rather than consent to a performance of these Christian functions by a clergyman of the Established Church.

To meet this perfectly obvious situation Lyford acted after seeing that there was to be no recognition of his clerical position. Hubbard gives us at this point the first independent and unbiased testimony of what became an overt act on the part of Lyford in Bradford's estimation, although Bradford fails to catalog it for obvious reasons. William Hilton, an ancestor of mine, a passenger in the *Fortune,* 1621, was followed hither by his wife and children. Among them was an infant, unbaptized, but Hilton was "not joined to the church at Plymouth," said Hubbard. Therefore it was not possible to have this ceremony performed at their hands as they had no minister to perform it. In this predicament he naturally turned to Lyford, as a minister of the Gospel, to attend to

[2] Morton, *New English Canaan* (Prince Society), 262–3.

this Christian rite. Lyford answered this call to duty and, undoubtedly, as required by the rubric of the Prayer Book, signed the babe with the sign of the cross on his forehead — and then the pandemonium of religious bigotry broke out. The hated cross had been marked on this child in Plymouth under the very noses of the Brownist saints and henceforth the perpetrator of this "idolatrous" and universal Christian symbolic act must be crushed. The storm included the innocent family of Hilton and for their self protection and peace of mind they departed from Plymouth soon after to seek a new home in the wilderness further North, where for years only the tolerant theology of the Redskins prevailed.

The inevitable breach now came into the open. The Church of England people who wished Lyford's services had been obliged to enjoy them under cover. He was entitled to pay for his services to the Colony from the general funds, but the leaders of the Leyden contingent, according to Lyford, "have changed my wages ten times already," probably with the purpose of driving him out through this well-known device of financial starvation. The friends of Lyford were called "conspirators" and "plotters" by Bradford for wishing to have church rites performed. Hubbard's statement was about to be verified: "They could not be contented till they had shut their hands of him."

Meantime it is necessary to recall that the relations of the Adventurers and the Leyden religionists had been in a ferment which had started with the sailing of the *Mayflower* four years before. Bradford, as was his habit, accuses everybody connected with the business interests of the Plantation as rapacious persons trying to rob the settlers under the seven years contract. This is a separate story which has always been told without a fair analysis of its merits and will not be dealt with here. Suffice it to say that anything that originated with the Merchant Adventurers was a "plot" in the estimation of Bradford. The London underwriters of the Colony were entitled to know how their interests were being served, and they could not get anything but complaints from Bradford and such statements as he would permit to pass through his censorship. Weston, the real force behind the Pilgrim settlement from the first, who had made the voyage

of 1620 possible, was the principal target of Bradford's enmity and it did not end with Weston's death years after. The Adventurers naturally wanted to know what the real conditions in the Colony were as they had been unable to get a common sense or sound view of the situation. It is not improbable, therefore, that Lyford was asked to make a report confidentially to the Merchants as an observer entirely disconnected with any prejudices arising from the old bickerings of Bradford and Weston. There is nothing discreditable in this action. The Merchants had a large financial stake in a novel enterprise in a distant hemisphere and they did not trust the judgment of those whom Weston said were more interested in endless disputations of theological taradiddles than in the practical affairs of the Colony. Lyford was undoubtedly asked to present the situation and prospects as he viewed them. For all the Merchants knew the seven-year contract was being violated by those who were hostile critics of its terms from the first. At all events, Lyford did this thing.

A ship had arrived at Plymouth and was about to return to England. The Governor of the Plymouth Plantation was on the job and "observed Liford was long in writing." He tells us that twenty letters altogether was the output of the minister's industry with the quill. The names of the addressees are not known, with one exception whom Bradford stigmatizes as "a great opposite of theirs." Doubtless the friends of Lyford among the Merchant Adventurers were the intended recipients of his views on Plymouth and its affairs. I say "intended recipients" for the detective work of the Governor had not been in vain. In fact, thirty years after in writing of these events Bradford could not control his glee at the results of his espionage, "as made them laugh in their sleeves." With the connivence of the master of the ship, this Puritan Governor devised a scheme to obtain these letters unsuspected by the writer. Bradford excuses the Master for his complicity, as he "knew well their evil dealing both in England and here." They were given to him to be taken to England, as was the usual custom and the ship weighed anchor. Now for the story of their capture. "The Governor and some other of his friends knowing how things stood in England, and what hurt these things might doe, tooke a shalop

and wente out with the ship a league or 2 to sea, and caled for all Lifords letters." How the Governor knew these personal letters would harm the Colony will never be answered, as Bradford does not take us into details. All we are told is that the twenty letters, many of them "larg," were "full of slanders, and false accusations, tending not only to their prejudice, but to their utter ruine and utter subversion." That is all we are allowed to know; the proof is not furnished except in Bradford's own language. The scene is the dimly-lighted Captain's cabin that night showing the Governor of the Plymouth Colony hurriedly rifling private letters, anxiously reading them, painfully copying them and resealing the packets for delivery to the addressees, a picture which would tempt any painter engaged to make an historical panel for Pilgrim Hall. The morals or ethics of this affair will not be discussed. It certainly cannot raise Bradford in one's estimation to know that he personally took part in such a job. It is customary for high-placed officials to assign menials to do things that gentlemen regard as the peculiar province of the underworld. Winthrop engaged in this kind of attack on his opponents, but he had enough sense of propriety to let others do it for him, evidently conscious that it was a contemptible method of political warfare. The Governor tries to palliate its unsavory character by accusing Lyford of doing the like thing on his voyage to Plymouth in opening letters belonging to Winslow, taking copies and sending them to a Rev. John Pemberton. When the pot says the kettle is as black as itself, no discussion is needed to show that both need a detergent.

According to Bradford (using his own language) Lyford in his letters reported that the Leyden contingent conducted affairs so as to keep the Colony exclusively for their own church members; that they tried to discourage those who came on their "particular," through a system of non-intercourse; that subsistence stores were unfairly divided and the starving of persons into submission was their object and that they were wasteful of the Company's property. Bradford adds this general statement: "Many other things (in his letters) he charged against them with many aggravations."

None of these charges were of sufficient seriousness to cause

all the torrent of invective which Bradford pours on the head of his victim in describing the affair. But this did not close the incident. The Governor, with his pockets stuffed by the score of letters he had copied and the more material to his purpose, returned to Plymouth after dusk and passed the word that he had merely gone out to despatch some letters to England. Then he lay low, as he explains, "to let things ripen" and see who else was in the "plot." One was already known to them — John Oldham — as letters of his were also rifled at the same time. From these Bradford decided that a reformation in church and commonwealth was intended and that it was the aim "to have the sacraments." However, the Governor lay low, keeping the discovery secret for several weeks. Whatever suspicions Lyford may have had about this strange trip made by the Governor to the departing ship were allayed by the studied silence which followed. The Church of England party now led by Oldham began to get into action and, we are told, they began to flout the civil officers. Oldham was "clapt up a while," according to Bradford, but Morton charges that "they gave him a cracked Crowne" and that "blood run downe about his eares."[3]

> Butt to cutt things short, (said Bradford,) at length it grew to this esseue, that Lyford with his complicies, without ever speaking one word either to the Govr, Church, or Elder, withdrewe them selves, and set up a publick meeting aparte, on the Lord's day; with sundry shuch insolente cariages, too long here to relate, beginning now publikly to act what privatly they had been long plotting.

The time to throw off the mask of innocence had arrived. Bradford called a "courte" and summoned the whole company to appear. Lyford and Oldham were publicly accused of conspiracy against the government in connivance with his friends in England. Lyford denied the accusation and insisted that he did not have "anything to doe with them in England or knew of their courses." Then the dramatic climax was sprung when the Governor produced the letters he had taken from the ship's mail. Oldham raged when he found that "they had intercepted and opened his letters" and called upon those who had complained to him to "rise up." Brad-

[3] *New English Canaan*, 263.

ford says "all were silent." Oldham, however, was not his principal quarry at this time. He was after Lyford's scalp. They had at last "shut their hands of him."

We will not be instructed as to what actually happened by reciting Bradford's account of what he calls the "trial" before a hostile bench. It is the narrative of an implacable enemy telling of the confusion of his victim when confronted by the letters, how he was "struck mute" at first, but confessed with tears his folly and wickedness and admitted that all he had written was false, and so on and so on, told with all the unrestrained and malignant language of a religious zealot. Of course, Bradford tells us that all of the accomplices of Lyford deserted him in his extremity and denied their connection with him. He was thereupon sentenced to banishment, but was allowed liberty or suspension of its terms for six months and Bradford tells us that Lyford acknowledged that his censure "was far less than he deserved," if we can bring ourselves to trust him to tell anything fairly about a religious opponent. If we believe at all we must believe, according to Bradford, that Lyford was foolish enough to try again to send a letter to the Adventurers soon after. This letter is copied verbatim, presumably, by Bradford in his *History*. After expressing his regret at the trouble he has caused the Merchants through the publication of his private letters, intercepted by Bradford, Lyford sets forth his attitude clearly, insisting on the honesty of his views:

Which leters being intercepted by the Gov[erno]r, I have for the same undergone the censure of banishmente. And had it not been for the respecte I have unto you, and some other matters of private regard, I had returned againe at this time by the pinass for England; for hear I purpose not to abide, unless I receive better incouragmente from you, then from the church (as they call them selves) here I doe receive. I purposed before I came, to undergoe hardnes, therefore I shall I hope cherfully bear the conditions of the place, though very mean; and they have chainged my wages ten times allready. I suppose my leters, or at least the coppies of them, are come to your hands, for so they hear reporte; which, if it be so, I pray you take notice of this, that I have writen nothing but what is certainly true, and I could make so apeare planly to any indifferente men, whatsoever colours be cast to darken the

truth, and some ther are very audatious this way; besides many other matters which are farr out of order hear. My mind was not to enlarge my selfe any further, but in respecte of diverse poore souls heere, the care of whom in parte belongs to you, being here destitute of the means of salvation. For how so ever the church are provided for, to their contente, who are the smalest number in the collony, and doe so apropriate the ministrie to them selves, houlding this principle, that the Lord hath not appointed any ordinary ministrie for the conversion of those that are without, so that some of the poor souls have with tears complained of this to me, and I was taxed for preaching to all in generall. Though in truth they have had no ministrie here since they came, but shuch as may be performed by any of you, by their owne possition, what soever great pretences they make; but herin they equivocate, as in many other things they doe. But I exceede the bounds I set my selfe, therfore resting thus, untill I hear further from you, so it be within the time limited me. I rest, etc. Remaining yours ever,

JOHN LYFORD, Exille.

Dated Aug: 22. Ano: 1624.

These are the first actual words of Lyford that Bradford permits us to read and they completely refute the charges of Bradford that his letters contained false statements, and were so admitted by him.

All these things Bradford controverts at length, probably to his own satisfaction, and in the middle of the long story he pauses for breath and the usual intermission before he returns for the final round in this extraordinary affair. It is not the purpose of this paper to controvert the decision of Bradford to exile this clergyman. Of his legal right to do this there may be serious doubt. What Bradford was administering was "jungle justice." There was no legally organized government authorized to deprive an individual of his rights and Lyford had a competent legal status in a plantation owned by the Merchant Adventurers as principal stockholders. Bradford undoubtedly thought he was justified in giving sentence of banishment, although he qualified it by suspending execution for a period of six months. He covered the religious feature of it by calling the affair a conspiracy to overthrow the government and to "plote against them and seeke their ruine." In Bradford's connotation the "Church" was the "government," a theory which was not then estab-

lished or even consented to by the principals in the contract. It is probable that posterity would have approved the banishment on the simple ground of self-preservation as the first law of mankind in all relations of life. What follows in Bradford's narrative, however, may well be interpreted as questionings in his own conscience of the fairness of his treatment of his antagonist up to this point, and the desire to justify himself by blackening the character of Lyford through the introduction of irrelevant tales not connected with the acts of Lyford in Plymouth. Written as they were years after the trouble in Plymouth they disclose Bradford in his most malevolent mood when dealing with a religious opponent.

And here it may illumine the scene if I quote from a contemporary critic of the New England Separatists — Thomas Morton — who had had some similar experience with them. Of the value of his observations opinions may differ, but at least he gives a familiar picture of the methods employed against their opponents both in the Plymouth Plantation and Massachusetts Colony. It is a perfect illustration:

> When they finde any man like to proove an enemy to their Church and state, then straight the meanes must be used for defence. The first precept in their Politiques is to defame the man at whome they aime, and then hee is a holy Israelite in their opinions who can spread that fame brodest, like butter upon a loafe: no matter how thin, it will serve for a vaile: then this man, (whom they have depraved), is a spotted leaper: he must out, least he pollute the Land, and them that are cleane.

This is exactly what happened in this case. Bradford adopted the first precept — "defame the man at whom they aime." For three centuries he has been denounced as a "spotted leaper" and Bradford is the sole authority for spreading this unfair reputation written down in cold blood years after Lyford had been called to his final reward. Neither his death nor the charitable inclinations of mankind halted the pen of the historian of Plymouth Plantation as he spread on his pages the gossip of unidentified witnesses introduced to justify his former hostility to his deceased clerical victim. He began the final chapter of his anti-climax by filling two pages to dispose of Oldham (a sympathizer with

Lyford) and laying him in his untimely grave, murdered on the shore of Block Island. This done, "I am now come to Mr. Lyford," writes Bradford, continuing the story, with the satisfaction that is expressed in the picture of the lion and the lamb lying down together — with the lamb occupying a seat inside.

The stories of the alleged lascivious and lewd behavior which Bradford was able to unearth in Lyford's earlier life gave the Governor ample opportunity for indulging his eagerness to destroy the character of his helpless victim. It is manifestly impossible to disprove the strange stories which Bradford relates with all their nauseous particularity. He talks from behind the skirts of Lyford's widow and excuses himself by stating that Edward Winslow and Captain Peirce had bid him not to spare Lyford as he had "played the villain" with them. Thus fortified he proceeded to apply the final smears on Lyford's character. We are told that Mrs. Lyford betrayed him when his banishment was finally made effective. In her pious reflections on his alleged "treasonable" actions, and wrought up by the solemn pronouncements of his "judges," fearing that the Indians would defile her after their banishment to the wilderness, inhabited only by savages, she told, as is alleged how, before their marriage, she had heard "by some darke and secret mutterings" that he was the father of an illegitimate child. Likewise she told the deacons of his subsequent philanderings with others, "with shuch circumstances," wrote Bradford, "as I am ashamed to relate," after giving us the full details. A story brought over by Winslow is next introduced, more salacious in quality, which could be vouched for "by 2 godly and grave witnesses who would testifie the same if caled thereunto upon their oath." We are not permitted to know who they are, but we are treated to the obscene relation of it, of course without any verification, confrontation of witnesses or the benefit of a defense by the accused. Having carefully told all the repulsive details of this alleged incident, which likewise rested on the supposed confession of a woman, Bradford piously relieves himself of a ghoulish performance by saying "the circumstances I forbear for they would offend chast ears to hear them related." With all his ammunition gone, after

devoting a score of pages to display his hatred, he dipped his pen for the last time in his ink horn and wrote this pious farewell: "so I leave him to the Lord." If Bradford, who accounted himself a humble follower of the Master, had left the story of Lyford to the Lord it is safe to say that the divine conception of justice would have ended the recital when the grave had closed over the exile in his distant Virginia parish. Not so Bradford. Of the many Hebrew, Greek and Latin phrases he sprinkled through his *History* one applicable phrase is missing. Singularly enough it remained for a later Puritan historian to furnish it as a commentary on this whole affair. With a fine sense of ethical values which should animate a chronicler of events Hubbard wrote of the Lyford incident: "If there were any tolerable ground that it would pass for a truth the term of wickedness seems a little if not too harsh, for according to the old rule

De Mortuis Nil Nisi Bonum."

And lest there should be any doubt of his meaning, to those unfamiliar with the Latin tongue, he took the trouble to translate it: Speak well of the dead.

Fortunately the will of Rev. John Lyford was obtained by the writer from the records of the Prerogative Court of Probate for Ireland before the destruction of the "Four Courts" Building in Dublin at the time of the Irish Rebellion, when almost all the records deposited there were burned. A copy of it follows:

In Dei Nomine Amen, the ninth day of Februarie in the year of our Lorde God 1629, I, John Liford of Shirley hundred in Virginia, Clarke, being of perfect understanding and health, God's name be blessed therefore; yet consideringe the frailetie and uncertaintie of this life, I do therefore make and ordaine this my last will and testament in manner and forme followinge:

First, I resigne my soule into the handes of God my redeemer and my bodie to be buried at the discretion of my friends, and for my worldly goodes I dispose as followeth: First, I give unto my sonne Obadiah Liford all my land lyinge in the proportion of Ocorigan beinge in the Countie of Tyrone to him and to his heirs for ever. Alsoe the remainder of the Lease of Levalaglesh lyinge within the Manor of Dromully in the County of Ardmagh.

Item, I give unto my daughter Anne Liford forty poundes to be paid unto her at fower severall Payments by equall portions. The first to be at the accomplishinge of sixteene yeares of age and so from year to yeare until the forty poundes be paid.

Item, my will is That if my wife Sarah Liford shall return for England after my decease, That then shee shall have the benefit of the foresaid Lease of Levaleglesh, (towards hir maintenance and the bredinge of hir Children), during hir life.

All the rest of my goodes moveable and unmoveable with my bookes and debts within the Kingdom of Ireland I give unto my sonne Obadiah Liford whom I make my sole executor. In witness whereof I have hereunto subscribed my name The day and yeare first above written.

(signed) per me Johem Liford

Witnessed by
Robert Okely and Charels Magner and delivered upon their oaths upon the holie Evangelist of Almightie God to be the last will and testament of the said John Liford.
19 May 1632. Proved by Obadiah Lifford, son of said deceased and executor of said will.

Prior to reading the foregoing paper the speaker referred to an interesting fact which had resulted in a re-examination of the personal history of Rev. John Lyford and his connection with the Plymouth Colony to arrive at, if possible, a truer comprehension of the factors which had been accepted heretofore as unfavorably affecting the reputation of Lyford. He stated that at a previous meeting of the Society he had reported the results of some investigations made by him in England concerning the emigrant ancestor of President Lincoln on the paternal side which definitely confirmed the researches of Lea as recorded in his book on the *Ancestry of Abraham Lincoln.* There remained undetermined the identity of the emigrant ancestress of President Lincoln which Lea had been unable to find. Investigations made by the speaker had now resulted in an identification which has been accepted by Mr. Waldo Lincoln of Worcester, historian of the Lincoln family, as the logical and probable answer to this problem. By it Rev. John Lyford becomes the father of Martha, the wife of Samuel Lincoln, the President's direct ancestress. The evidence bearing on this conclusion will

involve presentation of many circumstantial evidences which will be set forth in another place.

Remarks upon Colonel Banks' paper were made by Professor Morison, who took exception to some of the statements, and was answered briefly by Mr. Bolton and Colonel Banks. Fitz-Henry Smith, Jr., said that when John Oldham was expelled from Plymouth he moved to Nantasket, as Hull was then called, and that when Lyford was expelled in his turn he joined Oldham there. And he then stated that in early land grants of the region a boundary is referred to as "Layford's Liking River," probably the present Weir River, and he queried the significance of the name.

JANUARY MEETING, 1929.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, January 10, 1929, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

In the absence of the Recording Secretary, Mr. FRENCH was chosen Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*. The record of the December Meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Laura M. Nutting, of Northfield, Minnesota, a collection Curtis-Eastman papers of West Springfield and Granby, Mass., 1677–1863, containing an old volume of sermons, 1677–1685, preached perhaps in Boston, one of which is noted as of October 13, 1678, the Sunday after the death of Samuel Symonds, of Ipswich, Deputy Governor of the Colony, on October 12, during the session of the General Court, and also the death of Capt. Hugh Mason of Watertown, on October 10.

From John W. Farwell, a letter of Col. Ebenezer Thayer of Braintree, to his wife, dated at Camp near Tomany Fort [Newport, R. I.], August 14, 1780, and the morning report of his regiment of foot, by Edmund Soper, Adjutant, also of Braintree, dated at the same place, August 16, 1780.

From the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, a photostat of the original order, in its possession, of the General Court of Massachusetts, Oct. 14, 1660, on the distribution of the laws of that year.

From Matt Bushnell Jones, photostat of the "Athenian Mercury," London, Jan. 30, 1694, published by John Dunton, containing a reprint of a probable handbill giving the agreement with the Eastern Indians at Fort William Henry, Pemaquid, August 11, 1693; and also one of a broadside "Advices from St. John's, Cambridge, Nov. 15," [1775], giving news of the surrender with articles of capitulation.

From Dr. Robert B. Osgood, by deposit, parchment indentures, and agreements, 1607–1770.

From Dr. Marcellus Reeves, by deposit, the commission of Jacob Reeves, of East Sudbury, 1811–1825.

From Grenville H. Norcross, four letters of Thomas Ball, sculptor, to Otis Norcross, his father, 1878–1882, relating to the statues of Sumner, Everett, the Prescott Statue memorial, and the Bennington Battle Monument.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Charles E. L. Wingate, a photograph of Rev. Alonzo A. Miner, in or before 1855, and a signed etching of him, about 1890, by William Harry Warren Bicknell.

From Foster Stearns, one of twenty-five signed and numbered proofs of the bookplate executed by Timothy Cole for President Coolidge.

From Grenville H. Norcross, two colored interiors of the Royall House, Medford; and the medal of the 150th Anniversary of Mansfield, Mass.

From Miss Sarah S. Perkins, five coins.

By purchase, a medal of Buff and Berger, Boston.

In the absence of the Corresponding Secretary, Mr. French reported that a letter had been received from Stephen Willard Phillips and from Harry Nelson Gay accepting Membership in the Society.

Henry Saltonstall Howe, of Brookline, was elected a Resident Member of the Society.

Mr. FRENCH read a paper on "Massachusetts Minute-Men and Militia, 1774 and 1775."

Mr. MORISON read a paper on

TWO "SIGNERS" ON SALARIES AND THE STAGE, 1789.

The following correspondence,[1] hitherto unpublished, throws an amusing light on what two "Fathers," Signers of the Declaration, thought of the stage, and what one of them thought of congressmen's salaries. Elbridge Gerry was an ardent disciple of Samuel Adams, and shared to a marked degree his master's propensity to view with alarm every tendency to corrupt Republican Virtue. He had, however, lived several years in New York as a member of the Con-

[1] The originals are in the Samuel Adams papers of the Bancroft Collection, New York Public Library. *Cf.* our *Proceedings* XLIX. 479, for Josiah Quincy's attitude.

gress of the Confederation, had married one of the belles of New York society, and acquired a decided taste for the drama.[2]

This was not the first attempt to introduce the theatre to Boston. It had earlier been excluded rather by public opinion than by law. In 1750, when some amateurs produced Otway's "The Orphan" privately at a Boston tavern, a crowd crashed the doors, and apparently enjoyed the play so much that Puritanic sentiment compelled legislative action, lest the offense be repeated. The Act of April 11, 1750, "For Preventing Stage Plays and other Theatrical Entertainments," forbade any but private theatricals before an audience not exceeding twenty.[3] A vain attempt was made to repeal this law in 1767, but in 1770 we begin to find advertisements in the Boston papers of "readings" of *The Reprisal,* and *The Provoked Husband.*[4] The documents that we have recently printed on the book-trade of Boston before the Revolution,[5] show an increasing call for English plays, in the shilling and eighteen penny editions that were then being printed in London. In a pre-revolutionary Boston library that has come down to the writer, there are twenty-seven of these plays printed between 1750 and 1776, including comedies by Goldsmith, Garrick, Whitehead, Samuel Foote, and Congreve; comic operas by Gay and others; farces such as Murphy's *The Upholsterer* and *The Musical Lady;* tragedies by Dr. Johnson, Nicholas Rowe and John Hughes.

The Revolution brought a Puritan reaction against the theatre, and not only in New England; the Continental Congress, in the Association of October 20, 1774, bracketed plays with gaming and cockfighting as objects of patriotic abhorrence, and on October 16, 1778, forbade government officials to attend any theatrical performances. Pennsylvania and perhaps other states then declared stage plays unlawful; and

[2] The Vermont girl who later became the wife of Royall Tyler was a nursegirl in the Gerry family in New York in 1789, and describes in her memoirs the interest that the Gerrys took in the theatre. P. Tupper and H. T. Brown, *Grandmother Tyler's Book,* 112–27.

[3] *Acts and Resolves of the Province,* III. 500; S. G. Drake's *History of Boston,* 631; G. R. Minot, *Hist. of Mass. Bay* (1798), 142–43.

[4] *Boston Gazette,* March 19, 1770; *Mass. Gazette,* March 1, 1770.

[5] *Proceedings,* LXI. 235.

the popular stock company of the American theatre in New York was forced into exile.[6]

John Henry, the head of this stock company, was an Irishman who made his debut at Drury Lane in 1762, and came to New York in 1767.[7] Although playing at Jamaica during the war, he retained his patriotic standing by refusing an invitation to New York during the British occupation. In 1782 he brought his company to Annapolis, where it was warmly welcomed, and in 1785 combined with another company in New York to control the theatre in both places.[8] Even there the theatre was on the defensive, and a strong petition for the suppression of the theatre was sent to the New York Assembly in 1786, and Henry had to be very careful to present only "chaste and moral" plays, as he wrote, for "truly respectable" audiences.[9] In 1789 this enterprising actor-manager enlisted Elbridge Gerry's aid to repeal the prohibition in Boston.[10] A long communication from "Candidus" in the *Massachusetts Centinel* for July 22, 1789, indicates that Gerry was not alone in his belief that stage plays were consistent with Republican Virtue. The attempt was unsuccessful. However, public readings of plays such as *Hamlet* and Royall Tyler's *The Contrast* had already been revived,[11] and in the winter of 1792–93 a company of strolling players fitted up an old stable with a stage, and advertised "Moral Lectures," such as *The School for Scandal*. There was quite an uproar over this, and a deputation of stout fellows even called on Governor Hancock to inquire whether it were his Excellency's pleasure that the improvised theatre be pulled down. Yet the tide of sentiment had turned. Harper, the leader of the company, was acquitted in a public trial, and the Law of 1750 was shortly after replaced by

[6] G. O. Seilhamer, *History of the American Theatre*, II. 160, 183; George C. D. Odell, *Annals of the New York Stage*, I. 182. Pennsylvania repealed her law in 1789.

[7] Thomas Allston Brown, *History of the American Stage*, 171.

[8] Seilhamer, II. 158–59, 176.

[9] J. N. Ireland, *Records of the New York Stage*, II. 72.

[10] The Act of 1750 had been reënacted in 1785.

[11] *Centinel*, Sept. 17, 1788, April 4, 1787, a troupe of acrobats is advertised in the number of June 24, 1789, and a correspondent to the *Herald of Freedom* of Aug. 28, complains that the Selectmen will not hear of a theatre, while they "permit the performance of an African wild dancer."

another, which permitted theatrical performances in Boston, while forbidding them in other parts of the state.[12] The first Boston Theatre, designed by Bulfinch and promoted by some of the leading citizens, was begun in April 1793, and opened the following February.

Gerry was a member of the first Congress at the time these letters were written, and his second letter relates largely to the debates on the organic act of the Treasury Department. His strictures on Madison for supporting the "treasury system" are amusing, since Madison shortly became a leading opponent of Hamilton's financial system, and Gerry one of its most faithful supporters. Yet the letter is not without interest as showing how easy and natural it was for the anti-Federalist sort of mind to "view with alarm" every measure necessary for the sound organization of the Federal Government.

ELBRIDGE GERRY TO SAMUEL ADAMS.

NEW YORK, 17th July, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — I requested Judge Sullivan to communicate to you my hearty congratulations on your election to the officer of Lieutenant Governor, and am sure, you did not think it necessary to have any assurances of the utmost sincerity on the occasion.

This will be delivered to you by Mr. Henry who is invited to establish a theatre in Boston. Mr. Henry is manager of the company, and his conduct in his profession gives general satisfaction, his company are likewise very reputable and will acquit themselves to acceptance. Would it be consistent with the policy of Massachusetts to repeal the statute against such amusements so far as it

[12] T. C. Amory, *Life of James Sullivan*, I. 267–74. See also *The Speech of John Gardiner, Esquire. Delivered in the House of Representatives. On Thursday, the 26th of January, 1792; On the Subject of the report of the committee, appointed to consider the expediency of repealing the law against theatrical exhibitions within this Commonwealth.* Gardiner's arguments were: (1) A theatre would give employment to many artisans; (2) attract strangers, who "complain much of the want of public places of resort for innocent and rational amusement," and so "leave us for New-York or Philadelphia;" (3) the Drama not contrary to scripture, and had its origins in religion; (4) the act against the theatre is illiberal, unconstitutional, prohibitory and Gothic; (5) all other states, even New Hampshire and Connecticut, now permit the theatre.

respects Boston; — to know what will probably be the sense of the Legislature on this occasion; is the object of Mr. Henry in going to Boston, and for this purpose he has desired a letter to you, as well as to ascertain your opinion on the subject.

I know very well, that previously to the revolution, and during the war that established it, you was opposed to theatres, but what your sentiments now are I am not able to inform Mr. Henry. I believe we both agree in this, that if a theatre could be well regulated it would afford us not only the most rational and elegant amusement but also a school of morality; and I think we shall not disagree in another point, that the abuse of a thing is no argument against the use of it: but whether the probability is, that immoralities will be promoted and increased by such amusements, or if not, whether the abilities of the citizens of the metropolis are equal to them, are questions which I cannot undertake to determine. Thus much I can say for Mr. Henry's company, that they have not only gained reputation here in their profession, but have also carefully avoided giving offence to delicacy, or inculcating principles, by the choice of their plays, not strictly virtuous. there is one consideration I think in favor of admitting a theatre in Massachusetts, which is, that since the adoption of the new constitution it is less of a State and more of the component part of a nation than it ever was before, and this departure from its being a seperate society will be still increased. the consequence is, that its adherence to principles of policy adverse to those of the rest of the Union, will wear the appearance with the latter of rigidity, and produce a discontent amongst such of its citizens as are desirous of these amusements which will soon evince the necessity of what will be called a more liberal police. Love for such amusements, which are supposed necessary to polish the manners of citizens, may give those of other states an advantage in this point over the citizens of Massachusetts. I cannot determine, but I think it not improbable that travellers will be apt to measure our comparative liberality of sentiment by a circumstance of this kind as much as by any other, and that the citizens of the other states will improve the opportunity of pluming and exalting themselves by the comparison. these I consider as secondary considerations to those of promoting national vertue industry and œconomy, but still they are considerations which assist in forming a national character. indeed theatres are admitted by the dutch who far transcend all the world for industry and œconomy, and who I believe have been very attentive to the cultivation of vertue, on which their republick has more depended perhaps than any other. there is another consideration in favour of theatres

which I think an important one, they admit of amusements which all may partake in, without destroying the necessary distinction of ranks and have thus the advantage of those which allow only citizens of particular of similar rank and wealth. the latter introduces invidious distinctions hatred and discontents, whilst all ranks are pleased at the theatre, and participating alike in the pleasures appear to be of the same family and society uninterrupted by envy or malice. in this view of theatres they tend to sweeten society which is an important object. indeed they have the sanction of the Union, for in this place they are attended by the supreme executive and Legislature of the U States. another consideration in favour of theatres is, that amusements are indispensible to every class, and money spent this way will injure much less than at ale houses taverns gambling tables &c.

SAMUEL ADAMS TO ELBRIDGE GERRY.

BOSTON, July 29th, 1789.

MY DEAR SIR, — Mr. Henry was so obliging as to deliver me your Letter of the 17th. We had a free and candid Conversation on the Subject, and I must confess to you that his Reasons were not powerful enough to convince me of the Utility of his Design in this Commonwealth. There are a number of Characteristics of a Republic which we ought carefully to maintain; amongst which are *Sobriety* of Sentiment and Manners and a Spirit of *honest* Industry in the various Classes of the People which is indeed the Concomitant of the former. The one will not easily be eradicated while the Community continues to give that Encouragement and Support to the Education of Children which, much to its Honour, it has hitherto done; and the other, rapidly increasing as it is, and supported by the Aid of Men of Science and Riches, will spread throughout our Country, and effectually establish its true Happiness and Glory. The Habits of Industry in early Life will afford us the fairest Prospect of our Citizens acquiring Wealth, at least so far as to render them *independent;* and a free and virtuous Education of the Youth will lead them to so just a Way of thinking and such Purity of Manners as shall recommend our Country to the respect and Esteem of wise judicious and *polite* Foreigners. I hope she will never be so depraved as to value herself upon the Opinions of a different Kind of Men. I have made some General Observations without applying them to Mr. Henry's Subject. This I intend in another Letter. You know how difficult it is for me to

hold and guide my Pen.[13] Adieu and believe me Sincerely Your Friend.

S. Adams.

Mrs A. joins me in unfeigned Respect to your self and Mrs Gerry

Elbridge Gerry to Samuel Adams.

New York, 7th August, 1789.

My Dear Sir, — I am favoured with your letters of the 28th and 29th of July: the former I shall communicate to the President previously to the election of Judges, for I sincerely hope Judge Sullivan will obtain the office of district Judge for Massachusetts. political opinions however good, are generally heretical, if not sanctioned by the voice of a majority: and if bad, thus sanctioned are considered as divine. Mr. Sullivan's politics at this time, accord with the sentiments, as I conceive of the people, and his conduct as a Judge has, as I have always understood been unexceptionable.[14]

With respect to the establishment of theatres, various opinions are intertwined of their good and bad effects, even by vertuous republicans: if they can be so regulated as to instruct us in the knowledge of man, and to discriminate his vertues from his vices and whilst they afford amusement will not excite a spirit of dissipation, it is undoubtedly both wise and politic to admit them: but on the other hand, if they have a tendency to gild vice and promote extravagance, to undermine and eradicate vertue which is the only solid foundation of a free government, and to destroy the habits of œconomy and industry the true sources of the wealth of a nation, they ought not only to be discountenanced but forbidden under the severest penalties. my opinion at present is rather in favour of them, as I concieve they may be properly regulated, but it is an object I have very little at heart and I shall chearfully acquiesce in the decisions of the legislature should the subject be by them considered. in any event your observations on the matter will I am sure be both instructive and entertaining.

I can give you very little information more than you will have obtained from the Gazettes, except that the House yesterday fixed the Salaries of themselves and officers, and that there are some appearances which I confess to you are to me alarming. We have

[13] The postscript and signature alone are in Adams' handwriting.

[14] The nomination of John Lowell to be District Judge for the District of Massachusetts was laid before the Senate September 24, 1789, and confirmed on September 26.

formed a treasury system which I did not hesitate to declare in the House appeared to me the most perfect plan I had seen for promoting peculation and speculation in the public funds. at the head of it is to be a secretary with power to superintend all the revenue officers, and a person is proposed to fill this office who has heretofore given it as his opinion that the affairs of America will never be well conducted without an external influence. this secretary has power to prepare money bills before they are originated by the house, in direct violation as I concieve of the constitution and in debating the Subject, when it was objected that he would have an undue influence in the House Mr M—d—n who is an intimate of the candidate for this office declared he had no fear from that influence but was apprehensive of an influence arising from the ignorance indolence and party views of the house, which he was afterwards told was advocating *external* influence; for us the decisions of the house must arise from some species of influence and [if] he was averse to the influence of its members he was clearly for an influence arising from some other quarter. consistently with this plan Mr M—d—n is for keeping the Salaries or allowances of the Congress low and has urged 5 instead of 6 dollars, altho it is well known Virginia allowed more than 6 dollars when congress sat the whole year. a few members are influenced by other considerations, namely the opinions of their constituents, to advocate 5 dollars, but the house have decided it for 6. the consequence of a low establishment for Congress will be this: a majority of the members will be either nabobs or indigent men, who will unite in plans to oppress and plunder the people. the constitution required that the members of Congress should have a compensation for their services; the terms used on this occasion are the same as those used for the executive and judiciary: but whilst these are to have high, for Congress low stipends are nevertheless urged and will probably catch the popular ear. my opinion is that the establishment ought not be on either extreme but such as to make it reputable for any man in America to accept the offices, if elected thereto, and as will indemnify them from losses by leaving their homes. to defeat this wicked system, and at the same time clear the members opposed to it from contemptible and illiberal suspicions of avarice I brot forward a motion and was seconded and supported by some independent members to strike out all provisions for members of the House and let them sustain their own expenses, by which means they would be able to act independently for the publick interest and avoid the danger of making our house of representatives a mere executive machine to vote away the property of their constituents

without any reason or necessity. these however who had advocated 5 dollars and called the yeas and nays thereon, in which we joined them, thot it more prudent to take 6 dollars than give such a small testimony of their patriotism as to accede to my motion, which I should have been sincerely happy to have carryed. what renders this matter more extraordinary is that the members who supported 5 dollars supposed Congress after this session would not sit longer than 4 months in a year which at 6 dollars a day will amount to 720 dollars for each Senator and member of the house, and on the same day the house granted to their doer keeper 750 Dollars a year and to the Secretary of the Senate and clerk of the House 1500 dollars each year and two dollars a day besides for every day of the Session of Congress which if four months would make the Salary of each 1740 dollars a year, who ever supposed that a senator or representative would be so debased as to receive as a compensation for his services less than a doorkeeper and not more than 2/5ths of the allowance to a Secretary and clerk? these to me are serious considerations and shew that it is in contemplation to govern America as Britain is now governed, by corruption. Mrs. Gerry joins me in sincere respects to Mm Adams and be assured my dear sir I am ever yours

E. GERRY.

please to communicate what respects the Salaries to Judge Sullivan. 8th. I had forgot to mention that I was of the committe and was for 5 dollars (as the house of our state) for members of the house, which was agreed to with a further allowance for senators; but the making a different establishment for the Senate gave offence to the house and the committee that fixed 6 dollars for both.

ANDREW G. CURTIN TO ELIHU B. WASHBURNE.[1]

PHILA., 26 Dec., 1868.

DEAR WASHBURN, — I could not avoid being at the dinner to Mr. Colfax at the Union League house on Saturday, but did not expect to hear the Chairman say to him that he was to be a candidate and elected President. From that and what was said to me by the gentleman beside me I declined to speak.

There were other speeches in the vein of the Chairman during the evening and from gentlemen of certain preferences and political combinations. Called to New York on Tuesday on business I was in-

[1] *Washburn Collection,* XXIV. 64.

vited to a reception to Mr. Colfax in Brooklyn and to another next week. On Wednesday I breakfasted with him at a private house.

In short he is a candidate for the Presidency and, as part of the programme, will lecture about the Country *for four years.*

You no doubt are advised of all this, but it seems to me so early in the field that there must be some concerted movement.

A gentleman who professes to understand the Tribune said to me that Mr. Greeley would be Post Master General. I replied that it seems the general belief that General Grant had not yet consulted his immediate friends on the subject of his cabinet, not even Washburn. He answered that he had not consulted Washburn but that Mr. Colfax had been or would be as to Mr. Greeley.

The same gentleman said that if my friends would move in my behalf for the Navy department I could be assisted from without the State by persons he could name to me, and that Admiral Porter would not accept the office. I cut it short by saying that my friends could not make any demonstration in my interests. That a place in the cabinet must be given, not solicited, and that the President had the right to select his advisers for himself and no party or man had the right to complain of his exercise of his own judgment.

I did not see the Star of Bethlehem when in New York and have the satisfaction to announce that the recess in Congress has not caused the morality of Bellefonte to be disturbed.

All I say may be of little consequence. At least, however, it gives me the opportunity of again saying I am truly your friend,

A. G. CURTIN.

FEBRUARY MEETING, 1929.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, February 14, 1929, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

In the absence of Henry W. Cunningham, Recording Secretary, Allen French was chosen Recording Secretary *pro tempore*. The record of the January meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Elizabeth Gaskell Norton, papers of the Andrews and Norton families of Hingham, 1679 to 1820, including two commissions by Governor Samuel Shute to John Norton, 1717, and 1718, one as Captain of a troop of horse, and the other as Coroner of Suffolk County; letters received by Samuel Eliot, merchant of Boston, from English and Scotch correspondents, 1774–1784; papers of Joseph Andrews during the Revolutionary War; letters of Theodore Sedgwick, and others, to Loring Andrews, printer and later postmaster in Stockbridge, 1787–1796; also two broadsides, one a hymn composed by Rev. George Whitefield "to be sung over his own Corps," taken from the original May 1, 1764, and the other, the Ode to President Washington, sung on his visit in Boston, at King's Chapel, Oct. 27, 1789.

From Prof. George Lyman Kittredge, a photostat copy of verses and handwriting by Adam Winthrop, father of Gov. John Winthrop of Massachusetts, on the fly-leaf of a volume entitled "A Hundred Sermons," compiled by Henry Bullinger, 1561, in Harvard College Library, owned by Rev. George Phillips, and Robert Feake, who came with Governor Winthrop in the *Arbella*, and given to the College Library by Mrs. Lydia Phillips, a descendant.

From Miss Josephine MacChord Shaw, papers of Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, 1798–1854.

By purchase, letters and papers of Gen. Benjamin Lincoln, of Hingham, 1766–1799; and the marriage settlement of William Blathwayte (1649–1717), Clerk of the Privy Council in ordinary, on his intended marriage on Dec. 23 to Mary, only daughter of John Wynter, of Dyrham, Gloucestershire, England.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported accessions:

From Grenville H. Norcross, a photograph of the Supreme Court of the United States, taken in 1876, Chief Justice Waite, and Justices Clifford, Miller, Field, Bradley, Swayne, Davis, Strong, and Hunt.

From Hollis French, a sequin of Venice of 1423, and four Roman coins.

From Henry Adams, by deposit, three silver pieces, teapot, sugar-bowl, and cream jug, formerly belonging to Mrs. John Quincy Adams, and marked "L C A to H A. H A to E A." They are mentioned in the *Education of Henry Adams* (1918, page 18): "Then it was that the little Henry, her grandson, first remembered her, from 1843 to 1848, sitting in her panelled room, at breakfast with her heavy silver teapot and sugar-bowl and cream jug."

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Henry Saltonstall Howe, accepting Resident Membership in the Society.

The President announced that the Council had appointed Robert Stewart Mitchell as Editor of the Society for one year beginning October 1, 1929.

Mr. FORD read a paper, by Mr. HOWE, on "The Beginnings of James Ford Rhodes as an Historian."

MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM B. H. DOWSE

BY WILLIAM V. KELLEN

William Bradford Homer Dowse, the first member, and the second benefactor of the Massachusetts Historical Society of that name and family, died in Boston on April 19, 1928.

He was of English descent, on his father's side, from Lawrence Dowse, born in Legbourne, Lincolnshire, in 1613, who sailed from Boston, England, for Boston, Massachusetts, about 1630; on his mother's side, from John Alden of the Mayflower Company. In 1649 Lawrence Dowse moved over to Charlestown, where he and his sturdy descendants continued to live and thrive until the American Revolution.

Eleazer Dowse in the fourth generation from Lawrence Dowse, a well-to-do tanner and leather-dresser, with a comfortable home on Main Street in Charlestown, fought with two of his sons beside him, the younger, Joseph, only fifteen years of age, in the Battle of Bunker Hill. Returning home from that memorable fight, he saw his house and plant go up in flames when the British fired the village. Thereupon with his second wife, Mehitable, and the remaining children of his two marriages, he fled up the Charles River and thence overland, first to Holliston, seeking a favorable spot in which to settle, and then to Sherborn, as affording a more plentiful supply of bark; and in that town, bought a homestead and began again the leather business. From that time the interests of the town of Sherborn and of the Dowse family were closely intertwined, if not identical.

Thomas, the youngest of Eleazer's children, who was to become the "greatest benefactor" of the Massachusetts Historical Society, as well as one of the earliest of American

philanthropists, was a man of strikingly individual character. He was born on December 28, 1772, and was therefore but two and a half years old at the time of the Battle of Bunker Hill and the Charlestown fire. Whether the tragic events of that day unconsciously affected him, or the crippling due to a later fall from a tree and an ensuing illness, he never married and led, outside business interests and a few friends, a singularly solitary life. After getting what little schooling was to be had in Sherborn, he learned the trade of leather-dressing and worked until he became of age in his father's shop. He early showed a fondness for books and every shilling he could save went in their purchase. All his leisure was spent in reading, and, before he was eighteen years old, he had read every book he could get at in Sherborn. With his freedom suit, he went to Boston and worked there at the bench at his trade for ten years for wages varying from twelve dollars to twenty-five dollars a month. Then starting in business for himself, he made by dint of will and a superior product a considerable fortune. As he prospered, he built a commodious mansion in Cambridgeport with ample grounds about it, added to his fast growing library all the books he craved, and the more to enjoy reading them retired from business at seventy. Literally by a turn of Fortune's wheel, he added to his store of books a superb collection of water colors, copied from the old Masters, of whose works " at that time, neither copies nor engravings had often reached this country," much less, as they have in numbers since, any of the originals. A lottery was set up in London to further the sale of engravings of these water colors, which latter in two groups formed the first and second prizes, and a set of the engravings, colored, the third. Thomas Dowse bought three tickets, drew all three prizes, and hung the pictures in his home for the enjoyment of himself and his few friends. For the rest of his life and until his death at eighty-four, besides the companionship of books and pictures, he passed his time contentedly, as weather and seasons served, in strolling " among his flower-beds, listening to the hum of his bees, whom he would not allow to be robbed of their honey, superintending the planting of his shrubbery and pruning his trees."

His entire library formed a fine and unusual collection of

books to the number of five thousand or more embodying the best editions of standard authors, mostly in English, many of them rare, all of them finely bound, reflecting the judgment and good taste of the collector. On July 30, 1856, when in his eighty-fourth year, he gave the library, which it had been his joy and his pride to collect, outright to the Massachusetts Historical Society, as evidenced by the delivery by him to Robert C. Winthrop, its President, of one of his choicest items, *Purchas his Pilgrims*. The library, with rare good sense, was allowed by the Society to remain in the Donor's possession until after his death, when it was, with a gift from his estate of $10,000 for the care of it and of $3,000 for installing it, placed in the existing and later in the present building of the Society. The noble room devoted to it shares with the library the name of " Dowse," and the books though freely accessible for use, cannot be taken from that room. Mr. Winthrop, in a tribute before the members at a meeting of the Society, and Edward Everett, at a public meeting of the citizens of Boston, each declared him to be the Society's " greatest benefactor."

Thomas Dowse during his lifetime erected, solely at his own expense, a stately obelisk at Mount Auburn to the memory of Benjamin Franklin, whom he greatly admired, as a fellow worker with his hands with kindred tastes, and by whose striving for self-culture he had been greatly cheered. By his will Thomas Dowse, after providing for relatives and making a few minor bequests, gave a handsome residue to his executors to be devoted to charitable, literary or scientific uses, which trust was fulfilled with " signal good judgment and discretion," a part of such residue being devoted to the founding of the " Dowse High School " in the town of Sherborn.

Joseph Dowse, the lad of fifteen, who was in the battle of Bunker Hill with his father, Eleazer, after helping as best he could to settle the family in Sherborn, entered the revolutionary army and served throughout the war. Returning to Sherborn at the close of the war, he married, joined the Pilgrim Church, of which he became a deacon, settled down at Dowse's Corner, and there followed the family business of leather-dressing. Benjamin, the eldest son of Joseph, married Thankful Chamberlain, both becoming members of the

Pilgrim Church, and lived for some years happily and prosperously pursuing the leather business on the homestead in Sherborn of his Grandfather Eleazer.

Edmund Dowse, the eldest son of Benjamin and Thankful, born September 17, 1813, and the father of William Bradford Homer Dowse, was the first "Dowse" to break away from the family trade and to seek an education to enable him to enter the ministry. Beginning with the near-by district school, he went thence to the "Old Wrentham Academy," and then to Amherst College, whence he graduated in the Class of 1836. He then went back to his father's house in Sherborn, in which town he was to spend his long and useful life, and at once began to serve the town, while pursuing his theological studies, as a member of the School Committee. Two years later, after marrying his first wife, he was called to the Pilgrim Church in Sherborn, where he was baptized and which he had joined in his youth. On October 10th, 1838, he was ordained as its pastor, in the presence of his Grandfather Joseph and of his parents, Benjamin and Thankful. Thus began a ministry of sixty-seven years, the longest but one among the long pastorates of New England, and successful and harmonious to the end. In 1881, Amherst College conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. Rev. Dr. Dowse was almost or quite the last of that type of the New England minister, which Harvard College was founded to perpetuate, and who were the servants of Church and State alike. He was the guide, philosopher and friend of every denizen of the town as of every member of his parish, young and old; and his influence and his activities extended to the neighboring towns as well. He represented church members and towns-people alike in secular as well as religious matters. He advised the entire community, he encouraged the downcast, he ministered to the sick. His attendance was as essential as that of the surgeon at the performance of a major operation. He married and he buried three generations of parishioners. He served as a Chaplain of the Christian Commission in the field during the Civil War. He represented the district, of which Sherborn was a part, in the State Senate in 1869 and 1870, and was the revered Chaplain of that body during the last twenty-five years of his life. During his long ministry he superintended

the public school system of the town and kept it abreast of the times; and it was largely through his efforts that the " Dowse High School " was established from funds out of the estate of his great-uncle, Thomas Dowse. He married for his second wife, Elizabeth Bowditch, the ninth of the seventeen children of Galen and Sarah (Davenport) Bowditch, a lineal descendant of John Alden, who came over in the Mayflower.

William Bradford Homer Dowse, the youngest of the four children of this marriage, and the only boy in the group, was born in the parsonage at Sherborn on February 29 of the Leap Year of 1852. This striking name was given the boy by his father, in remembrance of his room-mate and class-mate at Amherst, William Bradford Homer. He was the valedictorian of the class and became a minister, but what promised to be a brilliant career was cut short early in his first pastorate. Young Bradford grew up a sturdy, active, imaginative, and independent boy. With few, if any, boys to play with, he had to rely on his own resources for amusement and employment, and those resources never failed him. The characteristics of initiative, independence, masterfulness and self-assurance distinguished him through life. He did everything that a boy, who was also the minister's son, would do in the country. He built dams in the nearby brook, and installed water-wheels that " did all kinds of tricks "; he fished in the big pond; he snared game birds in the woods; and rode around with his father making pastoral calls, the pet of the country-side. All the local conditions were favorable for the boy's precocious and all-round growth. When he was but four years old, he was sent to the near-by district school, coming fortunately under the teaching and guidance of a trained and understanding woman. There he was well grounded in the three " R's," especially in mental arithmetic, and besides, through hearing the older pupils recite, he absorbed a good deal of algebra. Outside school hours he was busy every minute.

On his Grandmother Bowditch's farm was an unused blacksmith and carpenter shop with all the usual tools, of all which he had the run and use, so that he came to mend and replace, with the help of the hired man, all the gear used on the place. After watching the village blacksmith at his forge, he induced

his doting grandmother to let him shoe one of the horses on the farm, and he did a good job. He also made a staunch and roomy row-boat to carry three persons for use in fishing on the pond. That was the day when farmers eked out a scanty livelihood by taking in and finishing shoes from neighboring factories. Bradford, when he was nine years old, by watching a neighbor, learned to turn out for himself a presentable pair of shoes. The growing boy's best friend and mentor in developing his mechanical bent, was a neighbor, Captain Jacob Pratt, one of those early Yankee inventors, who had a small shop with water-power enough to run small saws and lathes, which he utilized in making "corn-shellers" and "horse-radish grinders." Captain Pratt gave the eager boy the freedom of the shop, taught him the use of the lathe, explained to him the mechanism and construction of the machines he made, and was always ready to help and advise him. Meanwhile during the farming season, he began to do outdoor work, learning all the routine of the making and gathering of crops and the care and management of domestic animals. All this early training in the shop and on the farm taught the bright and growing boy the valuable lesson which he never forgot that "Nothing came to one without a struggle, and that whatever was worth having required work."

When the Civil War broke out, Bradford, being then in his ninth year, was minded to go out as a drummer-boy and laid his plans accordingly. One of the neighbors, Captain Bowen Adams, a veteran drummer of the War of 1812, taught him how to play the drum, and once more, Captain Jacob Pratt, his teacher in mechanics, stood him in good stead, by lending him a "bell-shaped tent" to play soldier in out of the equipment of a disbanded company of Sherborn militia. He at once raised a company of Sherborn boys and armed and drilled them with wooden muskets. The camp at Readville, not so far away beyond Medway and Dedham, was a great attraction to the boy soldiers, and Bradford with his usual alertness took advantage of this by hiring a horse and wagon and taking the boys to and fro at a fare which yielded him a profit on the venture. Bradford, himself, would stay at the camp for days at a time, hoping against hope, for a chance to go out, drawing his rations with his enlisted friends as a pro-

spective drummer-boy, but there his Civil War experience ended.

On reaching his eleventh or twelfth year, Bradford's schooling was divided between the Dowse High School for the four months it was open, and, for the rest of the school year, the Natick High School, trudging the three miles to and from the neighboring town, morning and night, in all sorts of weather. In the Dowse High School, as he was the only boy fitting for college, he had the rare advantage of the individual teaching and comradeship of the master, Charles Ware Park. Park was a good teacher and a fine young man, who afterwards graduated from Amherst and Andover, and became a missionary, dying, unfortunately, in his early prime. Besides the usual studies, Park gave Bradford his start in chemistry, making between them the apparatus needed for experiments, including, wonderful to tell, sufficiently accurate scales for ordinary purposes. When Park would give popular lectures in chemistry, electricity and magnetism as then known, the boy pupil was his proud and efficient helper. This chemical apparatus fell later to Bradford, and was used by him in private experiments in his room at Harvard.

The Rev. Dr. Dowse intended to send his son to Amherst College, his own Alma Mater, although this would involve rigid economy on the part of both father and son. In furtherance of this plan, Bradford, in the autumn of 1867, being then fifteen years of age, was sent by his father to finish fitting for college, to the well-known Allen English and Classical School in West Newton. While there he still lived at home in Sherborn, walking the same three miles to and from Natick and going by rail the rest of the way. Soon after he entered the Allen School, the head of the Classical Department withdrew and formed a new school, taking most of the pupils other than Bradford with him. Then Joseph L. Sanborn, "the best Greek scholar ever turned out at Harvard College" up to that time, according to Prof. William W. Goodwin, and fresh from a year's experience in the Plymouth High School, became the head of that department and practically Bradford's private tutor. Under Sanborn's influence, the boy was encouraged to try to gain admission to Harvard College rather than to Amherst, something that involved extra and intensive work

on the part of the pupil and extra time as well as teaching on the part of Sanborn. The result was that in the early summer of 1869, Bradford tried and passed the entrance examinations so successfully at Cambridge that the college authorities promised him the remunerative post of parietal freshman, assuring him free tuition with a well-placed room in the college yard, besides a substantial sum of money. He then went back to Sherborn to break the unwelcome news of his change of purpose to his father. Dr. Dowse was greatly shocked and disappointed and told him he would as soon send him to hell as to Harvard College, a sentiment shared at that period by many Orthodox families in New England who felt that " from a religious point of view no young man was safe " in that liberal Institution of Learning. When, however, the father was told that the son proposed to pay his own way and thus relieve him of all expense; that he had successfully passed the severe entrance examinations to Harvard; and further, and most important, that his boy had already made the acquaintance of the Rev. Dr. Andrew P. Peabody, Acting President of the College, whom " he thought to be a good man," the anxious father decided to take the risk; and young Dowse entered Harvard with the Class of 1873.

As parietal freshman, of which venerable guild he was to be the last, it was his duty to convey to offenders against the College Code, the admonitions of the Parietal Committee, made up of the Dean and other officials resident within the college walls. Upon entering upon those duties he was duly assigned the room promised him in the Yard, and found no difficulty in inducing a classmate to furnish it for the sake of sharing it with him. He was thus comfortably housed, his tuition was taken care of, and the Chairman of the Parietal Committee, whose fag and protégé he was, saw to it that he had as much tutoring of " lame ducks " as would, with his fees as parietal freshman, more than take care, as will be seen, of his other necessary expenses.

Young Dowse spent six busy and productive years in Cambridge, and frugal and amazingly industrious years they were. His college work and his tutoring went hand in hand and neither was neglected. Fifteen hours in term time made up the day's work, and the freedom from college routine in

vacation-time brought no respite to him from the grind as a private tutor. Frugality was his watchword and became to some extent in small matters a life-long habit. It is told of him that in returning some books to the College Library his act in saving the string and wrapping paper caught the eye and elicited the interest of old Sibley, the Librarian, and resulted in the careful student's being accorded privileges beyond the ordinary.

Early in his college career, with the forethought and initiative that had characterized him from boyhood, he decided upon the law as a profession, and with his proficiency in chemistry and the mechanical talent which was his, to become a patent lawyer. During his freshman and sophomore years, he pursued the old fashioned curriculum of Latin, Greek, mathematics and history, but during his junior and senior years, under the lure of the elective system brought in by President Eliot, he took other courses which he fancied would advance him in the profession chosen. At the end of a busy and successful career and with a vast experience with men and affairs, he was to reach the reasoned conclusion that a young man during the college period, should not pursue vocational studies leading to his life-work but only those calculated to train his powers and to teach him to think, and that there was " no better way to do this than to keep to the old course of study, Greek, Latin, mathematics and history, with some modern language mastered to the extent of speaking and writing it easily."

He graduated from Harvard College in the Class of 1873 with the respect of his classmates and the regard of the faculty, more than one of whom urged him to become a teacher. Prof. Josiah P. Cook, Jr., the head of the department of chemistry, vouched for him " as a young gentleman of high character and noble aims " and urged him to devote himself to that rapidly developing and practical branch of learning, chemistry, in which he " had passed all his examinations with marked distinction."

Resisting all persuasion to do otherwise, he remained at Cambridge, was appointed a proctor in the College, took a graduate course of a year in Roman History and philosophy, and at the same time entered upon the study of the law in the

Harvard Law School, pursuing all the while his avocation of fitting boys for or assisting them in College.

In 1875, after graduating from the Harvard Law School with the degree of LL.B., he was admitted to the Bar and opened a law office in Boston. With his accustomed prudence, however, he did not give up for another year his duties as a proctor in the college nor his private tutoring, for which he was well paid by the ambitious parents of backward boys. He had worked his way through college and professional school, and, whereas, he had entered college practically penniless, he had emerged from the Law School with all expenses paid, owing no man a dollar, and with a substantial sum to his credit in the bank. Bent still upon becoming a patent lawyer, conscious as he was of his peculiar aptitude for success in that growing branch of the Federal law, yet he knew few, if any, patent lawyers except by reputation, or counted among his limited circle of friends any prospective clients who were manufacturers of patented articles. The way in which he solved this dual problem of bringing himself into touch with patent specialists and of gaining clients was ingenious and was effective.

From a survey of the field of patent litigation, he easily came to the conclusion that it would be next to impossible for him to build up a patent practice in Boston; that the real field for him to cultivate was New York, where the great number of cases involving the validity of patents originated and were tried, and where in consequence there was a strong patent bar; and further that the wise thing for him to do was to seek a connection with the office of some eminent practitioner in that city, in which he could learn how experienced lawyers prepared and conducted their cases under the procedure of the Federal Courts.

When early in his legal career by great good fortune and through the kindness of friends, two small cases were put into his hands at about the same time, involving, one of them, the barbed-wire and the other, the meat refrigeration patents, he at once to carry out his plan of campaign went over to New York to see George Harding of that city and Philadelphia, perhaps the most eminent patent lawyer of his day, and induced him to act as Senior Counsel, and, what was the crucial

point, to leave the local management of the two cases in the hands of the younger man. This arrangement gave him when in New York the use of Mr. Harding's office and brought him into frequent contact with that lawyer's numerous and profitable clients. The result was that in a few years Mr. Dowse came to know well, and they knew him, and quite legitimately, hundreds of manufacturers all over the country, who came to New York from time to time to look after their patent cases in Mr. Harding's hands.

It was not long before the young lawyer's native shrewdness, his enormous capacity for work, his inventive genius, his mechanical insight, his chemical knowledge, his growing familiarity with the law of patents and patent procedure, brought a measure of success and a growing clientage. The life of a patent lawyer in full practice is a laborious one, involving, as it does, long absences from home, interminable railway travel, sleepless nights and busy days. It was no exception for him to work from twenty-four to forty-eight hours on a stretch without sleep to prepare a defense and prevent the issue of an injunction, the issue of which might result in " irreparable injury " to his client. To quote his own words, he " worked like a horse " in those thrilling days of industrial expansion due to inventive genius and a growing country. The barbed-wire litigation alone and that of meat refrigeration, his earliest contacts with the law of patents, kept him busy for many years. The life on the frontier, as the advancing settler pushed his way westward using barbed wire to enclose his homestead, irrespective of patent rights, was not without its thrills even to a patent lawyer. Mr. Dowse in the peaceful pursuit of evidence of priority of use in some patented article was chased out of towns in Missouri and Texas by such farmers armed with pitchforks and spading forks because they thought he was there in the interest of the barbed-wire monopoly.

By 1880 Mr. Dowse had come to know and to be retained by very many of the heads of big concerns in the country, interested in patented articles and processes, including Cyrus McCormick of reaper fame, and the packers of Chicago and elsewhere, including the Swifts and the Armours. In 1882 he was admitted to practice in the Supreme Court of the

United States, at that time the Court of last resort in all patent cases, and fought many cases before that august tribunal to a successful conclusion.

When in the course of his practice a case came to him involving a crude "snap fastener," the long anticipated opportunity was afforded him of becoming the owner as well as the defender of patents, and thus a Captain of Industry as well as a Leader of the Patent Bar. Ever since he began to practice law, he had been on the look-out, with an eye to business, for some simple article to meet some long felt want and thus to come into universal use. Very early in his patent experience, he became interested in devices to take the place of buttons and button-holes in fastening together the over-lapping edges of leathers or fabrics, made into gloves, garments, and later automobile curtains and the like. Such a substitute, metallic, capable of mass production, low priced, would meet a widespread demand and result in a very profitable business. The crude fastener first brought to Mr. Dowse's notice seemed to offer promise of being at least the germ of the long-sought appliance, though it was to receive much of refinement at the hands of himself and others, before it was to become the effective "snap-fastener" now in common use.

The story of how Mr. Dowse came to own a basic patent on the "snap fastener" reflected credit on his native shrewdness and his ingrained sense of fair dealing. He had carried the case involving the validity of the patent successfully more than once through the United States Supreme Court. The last time, he did this at his own expense and without payment of his fees, his client's resources being exhausted. After trying once more, at Mr. Dowse's suggestion, to raise the money needed to repay him for fees and advances, the client, who was completely at the lawyer's mercy, sold the patent to him, at a price mutually and without pressure agreed upon. Papers were drawn covering the transaction, providing among other things that the net purchase price, over and above the sum due Mr. Dowse, should be paid to the client in instalments covering a period of years. These papers when signed were deposited in escrow with a trust company in Boston, and it was not until the final instalment was paid to the client that the sale was completed and title to the patent passed to Mr.

Dowse. Finally the "snap fastener" of world wide use, invented in part by himself, emerged from a great variety of forms, patents for which had been taken out here and abroad, and which he was obliged to buy for control and to put an end to litigation. He thereupon organized the United States Fastener Company, owned and successfully managed by him, with branches in Grenoble, France, and in Chemnitz, Germany, for the mass production of this convenience of modern life, this universal time-saver used in a myriad ways but chiefly upon gloves and other forms of wearing apparel.

Later in 1898, Mr. Dowse took another step, marking still further his withdrawal from the active practice of the law, and his progress towards becoming a Captain of Industry. In the steps which led to his creating the fastener business, he had become familiar with working in metals, and it was not entirely a new departure when he was called upon to engage in the making of silver-ware. Reed and Barton, pioneer silver manufacturers, of which Henry G. Reed, a man of force and brains, was the founder, had begun in a small way as early as 1824 the working in silver at Taunton, Massachusetts. Mr. Reed continued his connection with the expanding business until his death at the advanced age of ninety-one years. Mr. Dowse, who had married Fanny Lee Reed, a daughter of Mr. Reed, on June 20, 1883, was constrained, when Mr. Reed began to feel the weight of years, to come to his assistance in 1898, and two years later, in succession to him, assumed the office of president of the company. In so doing, he abandoned definitely the law and gave up a practice, the income from which had run into six figures for several years. He continued to hold the position of president as the business grew and prospered under his able direction, until his own death.

Mr. Dowse never ran for or held public office, but, as a staunch Republican and high protectionist, a manufacturer and owner of patents — a patent is but a form of limited protection, — became an ardent member of the Home Market Club, formed to safeguard New England industries, and made up largely of the manufacturers of that section; and served for eleven years as its president.

The close attachment of Mr. Dowse for his native town of Sherborn showed itself in many ways. When, after his mar-

riage, he was in a position to settle upon a home site, he chose a tract of high land of some forty acres in West Newton, just nine miles from the parsonage in Sherborn, still the home of his father, and nine miles from his office in Boston. Here he built a sightly and comfortable home, in a grove of virgin pine, and here among his flowers and in riding about the adjacent country, he enjoyed a measure of relaxation from the cares and worries of his various business enterprises. With a summer house by the sea at Wianno, a farm in Rehoboth and a winter residence in Boston, he always retained his legal domicile in Sherborn.

From the time he left college almost, Mr. Dowse, in spite of all the hard gruelling work he did, led a happy, breezy and athletic life. From boyhood he was interested in everything out-of-doors; and when he had reached that degree of success at the Bar and in business that enabled him to indulge again this passion, besides riding and yachting, he projected various Country Clubs and followed up playing the game of golf by the laying out and building of golf courses. He assisted or was the driving force behind the construction of links at the Seapuit Club at Osterville, Mass., whose "course of nine holes," he claimed, "was the first fully completed in the United States," at the Braeburn Country Club, near his home in Newton, which has grown into one of the outstanding clubs and links in the country, and at the Wianno Club also in Osterville, Cape Cod.

In 1914, he built and gave to the town of Sherborn, the "Dowse Library" in memory of his father and mother. At the dedicatory exercises on June 10, 1914, to mark the one hundredth anniversary of his father's birth which occurred on September 7, 1813, in formally presenting the building, Mr. Dowse said in closing: "It is my wish that the library building be constantly open as a centre of education and sociability. I request that the trustees allow the Sherborn Historical Society the use of the library hall, and that they also offer the hall freely to the townspeople for all social purposes."

In the little old graveyard in Sherborn, beside the road and near the Pilgrim Church and parsonage, Mr. Dowse erected in 1924 a fitting and unusual memorial to the men of the town,

who had served in all the wars in defence of their section and country since the beginning of New England. These wars were the French and Indian Wars, the American Revolution, the War of 1812, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish War and the World War. The finely proportioned and appropriate base with platform and canopy of New England granite was designed by the well-known architect, William B. Dinsmore, on the lower part of which appears the inscription: "In memory of the men of Sherborn who gave their lives in defense of their Country." The central feature of the Memorial is a bronze statue by Cyrus E. Dallin, and shows "a woman with a downcast face in an attitude of thoughtful remembrance" bearing upon her arm a "trench hat," wreathed with laurel. On either side of the statue are bronze tablets bearing the names of the "honored dead of the Wars from 1676 to 1918"; and above the seat at the rear are two further tablets, one bearing the names of the donor's ancestors who so served, and the second the inscription: "This Memorial is erected and presented to the town of Sherborn — his birthplace — by William Bradford Homer Dowse." In his address at the dedicatory exercises, the donor said: "Out of gratitude to all these men I have caused to be erected this Memorial and the bronze statue of 'Memory,' which I now present, with the affection of a child for its mother, to the town of Sherborn, with the sincere hope that it will incite in the hearts of youth an even greater love for their parents and forbears and a greater love, veneration and respect for the men who have fought for their Country in times of peril."

He was a great traveller all his life. No sooner was he out of college and the Law School, and scarcely started in the practice of law than he began to reap the advantages of his toil and economies. In 1878 the opportunity came to him of going abroad with his friend, Charles H. Breck, of the well known firm of seedsmen, Joseph H. Breck & Sons, in the old, single screw steamship, *City of Berlin,* and with whom he was the recipient of much genial hospitality from seed merchants and bulb growers in England and Holland. After that initial trip he travelled far and wide with his wife and children over Egypt and Europe, with every part of which latter he was familiar, on foot, by boat, by train and by automobile.

One of the pleasant episodes of Mr. Dowse's busy life was his representing the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in England and Holland at the tercentenary celebrations, held at Leyden and Plymouth respectively in 1920, of the departure from each of those historic places of the Pilgrims in 1620. He was at the time Governor of the Massachusetts Society of Mayflower Descendants, which office he held for several years as well as that of Deputy Governor General of the National Society, membership in which came to him from his maternal ancestor, John Alden. By a commission formally issued in May, 1920, under the Great Seal of the Commonwealth, he was appointed Deputy Governor to represent the Governor on those memorable occasions. Accompanied by his daughter, Margaret, he was the guest at Leyden in August, 1920, of Burgomaster Gijselaar, while the festivities were in progress in Holland in honor of the event, during which he was presented to Queen Wilhelmina. For a week or more in the September following, the historic departure thence of the Mayflower Company was celebrated at Plymouth, when at the imposing banquet in honor of the event, Governor Dowse responded fittingly to the toast "The King," proposed by Lord Reading, the Lord Chief Justice.

On February 14, 1918, Mr. Dowse was elected a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Of all the varied activities and associations of his life, it was in his membership in this famous body, with which the name of Dowse had been so long and honorably associated through the donation of his great-uncle, Thomas, that he took the greatest pride and satisfaction. He served as a member of the Council from April, 1919, to April, 1922, at the annual meeting in which month he made the report of the Council to the Society. He was a member of the House Committee from May, 1927, until his death. In December, 1926, he presented an oil portrait of himself, painted by Hermann Hanatschek, to the Society, which, it may be hoped, will one day be hung in the Dowse Library. At the May meeting of 1920, he presented to the Society a copy of *Gradus ad Parnassum* used at Harvard College by John Lowell, giving at the same time an account of early associations with the Lowell family and of his own appreciation of work at college. Soon after he became a mem-

ber and had joined in a meeting of the Society, held as usual in the " Dowse Library," an opportunity to emulate his relative's example by a gift to the Society presented itself, which he was not slow to embrace. The Commonwealth of Massachusetts did not possess a complete set from the beginning of its existence as the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Province of its legislative records. The original manuscripts of the House Journals had been burned or lost through various mischances. These Journals from 1714 to 1770 had been printed, from time to time, in limited editions, but the State did not possess copies of some of them in its own archives. The missing copies were scattered among various owners in different states. The " new member " heard of this situation, and actuated by the triple motive of serving his native state, benefiting the Society and showing his own appreciation of the honor of membership, made it possible by a gift of money to enter upon the publication. Annually for several years there has appeared a volume, a reprint of the original, but in more convenient form, of these valuable historical volumes. The assurance of an annual volume for all the future and until the list is complete places the undertaking among the most important of those attempted by the friends of research.

In a tribute paid to the memory of Mr. Dowse, at the first meeting of the Society after his death, Mr. Worthington Chauncey Ford, Editor of the Society, and an intimate friend of his, said of him: " Aside from his success at the Bar and in industrial undertakings, Mr. Dowse had another side to his character which attracted me. He kept up his reading and retained an interest in public affairs. He had sentiment and foresight. Whatever he touched took on a new shape and to every detail he gave his personal attention. His widely divided activities were due to his vision and reacted to its increase. With his successes, and they were many, Mr. Dowse retained a certain simplicity that was engaging. Back of that form of shyness rather than of diffidence lay an ability to look at everything from the large point of view. Many and engrossing as were his ventures, he found time for outdoor sports — riding, rose-culture and golf — and for social enjoyment. Generous in his gifts to a large number of private and public activities, he has given to this Society what will be a perma-

nent reminder of his interest in it and in the history of the Commonwealth."

He is survived by his widow and by his three daughters, Dorothy Pino, who married Franklin Delano Putnam, Margaret, and Beatrice, who married Charles Sinclair Weeks.

MARCH MEETING, 1929.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, March 14, 1929, at 3 P.M., Vice-President LEFAVOUR in the chair.

In the absence of Mr. Cunningham, Recording Secretary, Mr. French was chosen Recording Secretary, *pro tempore*. The record of the February meeting was read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From Miss Elizabeth Gaskell Norton, a letter of S. Prince, August 30, 1756, and letters written by Alexis de Tocqueville and others to Theodore Sedgwick, 1851 to 1858.

From Arthur Maier Schlesinger, an account of household expenses kept by Ann T. Emery in Portland, Maine, Nov. 16, 1807, to Dec. 1, 1808.

From Richard K. Hale, four Commissions to John Collamore, of Scituate, as Justice of the Peace, and of the Quorum, 1825–1839, and as Commissioner of Highways, Plymouth County, 1826.

From Dedham Historical Society, notification by Lt. Colonel J. Hatch, of the draft of men for the expedition to Rhode Island, Boston, May 8, 1777, with the names of twelve volunteers signed on the second page, May 9.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the gift:

From Grenville H. Norcross, a large engraving of Daniel Webster by J. Andrews and H. W. Smith, after a painting by Chester Harding.

The following committees were appointed in preparation for the Annual Meeting in April:

To Nominate Officers for the ensuing year: JOHN W. FARLOW, ROBERT GRANT, and JOHN WOODBURY.

To Audit the Treasurer's Accounts: ALLAN FORBES and HENRY S. HOWE.

To Examine the Library and Cabinet: LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO, ALBERT MATTHEWS, and CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

Mr. MAYO read a paper on "Jeremy Belknap and Ebenezer Hazard, 1782–84," on the publication of the first volume of Belknap's *History of New Hampshire.*

Mr. WOLCOTT, under the title of "Prescott in England, in 1850," read extracts from the correspondence of William Hickling Prescott.

Dr. FARLOW presented the following note:

At the meeting of the Society in February, 1927, I read a short paper on the Antimonial Cup of the 17th century, at the request of Mr. Ford. Among the Winthrop papers he had found a letter from Matthew Cradock to Governor Winthrop which had evidently accompanied an antimonial cup sent to the Governor as a present. The letter hinted that the immoderate use of the cup was the means of shortening the life of Sir Nathaniell Riche. As wine was used in the cup as a solvent, the question arose in Mr. Ford's mind whether this cup and its contents did not serve merely as an excuse for hard drinking.

In my paper I showed that the wine acted simply as a solvent for the antimony of which the cup was made and was used for medicinal purposes and not to encourage the use of wine or spirits.

Since then I have run across what is called the favorite remedy of John Winthrop, Jr., Governor of Connecticut, son of Governor Winthrop of Massachusetts. It was called Rubila and is said to have been a combination of 4 grains of (diaphoretic) antimony with 20 grains of nitre and a little salt of tin with some coloring matter.

This compound certainly could not have been an incentive to drink, the emetic properties of the antimony and tin tending to cause a disgust for alcohol rather than a desire. It seems to corroborate the point I made in my paper that antimony, in the form of a cup or otherwise, was used as a favorite, shall we say household, remedy for various diseases and not as an alcoholic stimulant.

Mr. FORD read the following criticism on Emerson's *Conduct of Life,* published in the *Southern Literary Messenger* for April, 1861 [1] — a fateful month in our history:

[1] *Southern Literary Messenger,* XXXII. 326.

His mind is like a rag-picker's basketfull of all manner of trash. His books are valuable, however, for the very reason they are of no earthly account. They illustrate the utter worthlessness of the philosophy of free society. Egoism, or rather Manism, (if we may coin a word,) propounded in short scraps, tags, and shreds of sentences may do very well for a people who have no settled opinions in politics, religion or morals, and have lived for forty years on pure fanaticisms. We of the South require something better than this no-system. Your fragmentary philosopher, of the EMERSON stamp, who disturbs the beliefs of common folk, without again composing or attempting to compose them with a higher and purer faith, is a curse to society. Such a man ought to be subject to the mild punishment of perpetual confinement, with plenty of pens, ink and paper. Burn his writings as fast as they come from his table, and bury the writer quietly in the back yard of the prison as soon as he is dead. If in early life, the speculative lobes of his brain had been eaten out with nitric acid, EMERSON would have made a better poet than any New England has yet given us. As it is, he is a moral nuisance. He ought to be abated by act of Congress and his works suppressed.

Mr. STIMSON read extracts from a letter of Jeremiah B. Stimson, Hopkinton, December 12, 1801, one of which related to Thomas Marshall, surgeon's mate on board the *Essex*.

Mr. TUTTLE pointed out that today was the 300th anniversary of the confirmation of the royal charter of Massachusetts Bay Colony by King Charles as it passed the seals of England on March 4, 1628–29, and spoke of our debt of gratitude to Gov. John Endecott, of London's plantation at Salem, and to Governor Winthrop, who brought the Charter with him in the *Arbella* on June 12, 1630.

Mr. FORD submitted the following note on

THE SOCIETY'S PHOTOSTAT, 1925–1929

In April, 1925,[1] I summarized what had been done by the Society with the Photostat since the first installation, and I now propose to make a minute of what has been done since that statement.

[1] *Proceedings*, LVIII. 288.

The reproduction of the *Boston News-Letter* has been completed through the year 1769, thus supplying all known issues of that journal from its beginning in 1704. The result has fully justified the undertaking, for it has placed at the command of the searcher a body of contemporary record, hitherto available in widely separated libraries, and of a nature that could not be found in any other form. It stands as the largest venture of the kind and the use made of the set in the Society shows how much it was desired and how it has stimulated a recognition of its value in history, biography and genealogy. Twenty-three sets have been distributed, and so widely throughout the country, that it is readily accessible to students.

A like undertaking — the reproduction of what remains of the *Virginia Gazette* — has been carried through the year 1771. The earliest issue appeared in 1736, but the file is pitifully incomplete for a number of reasons. In that period of thirty-five years four printers in succession published the journal, always at Williamsburg. The circulation was among the widely scattered planters' homes, there were few, if any, binders and the destruction of so many of the houses by fire or war or other accidents caused a loss greater than was due. The quality of the journal was high and the range as well as merit of political discussion, not to omit mention of the lighter forms of literature, gave it a tone that distinguishes it among its contemporaries. The nearest approach was Benjamin Franklin's *Pennsylvania Gazette,* a better newspaper but not so individual in its contributions other than news items. It is much to be regretted that the *Virginia Gazette* is so far from giving a complete file, for it would have supplied a notable chapter on the influence of English writers on Southern minds and another on the political and personal controversies of the day. As a tobacco-growing and slave-labor colony, the economic example would be of interest. Of this file twenty-four sets have been distributed. It may gratefully be recalled that only through the generous aid of Messrs. Fairfax Harrison, Henry W. Anderson and John Stewart Bryan was this reproduction made possible.

Of the many issues made outside of any series special mention may be made of Pierre d'Ailly's *Imago Mundi, c.* 1483, reproduced from the copy in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville,

which contains the manuscript annotations attributed to Christopher Columbus. When in Spain, in 1925, I learned that such a reproduction had been proposed, the first suggestion being made by M. Edmond Buron, of Paris, who was making a special study of Columbus. He had enlisted the interest of Mr. Burton E. Stevenson, the Director of the American Library in Paris, who had sent a circular letter to a few American libraries to sound the matter of subscriptions. On reaching Paris I learned from Mr. Stevenson more of the details of his plan and believed that the Society could make a reproduction better and at a lower cost than could any other institution. He gracefully yielded the responsibility and arrangements for a set of photograph plates of the book were made through Miss Irene A. Wright, whose unexcelled knowledge of what of American history is to be found at Seville is freely placed at the call of research students. Unfortunately, by a slight miscalculation of the operator, the photographs were defective and a second set was made. These gave a result that was entirely satisfactory, and the volume is an excellent example of what can be done in reproduction by the photostat. Twenty-two copies of the *Imago Mundi* were distributed.

It is unnecessary to speak of the thousands of prints made on the machine for students or members, ranging from a single sheet to a small volume, of which only the one copy was made. As an aid to the study of printed or manuscript material there are no bounds to such service, and the opportunity offered to build up series of documents is one likely to increase so rapidly as to overtop other calls. As examples may be named the effort of the Library of Congress to obtain photostats of all known letters of Washington; that of a Pennsylvania society to secure everything that related to the Susquehanna Lands, in which Timothy Pickering was concerned; and that of this Society in getting the letters of Dr. William Gordon, the historian of the American Revolution, printed in this volume.

I pass to the series of Americana, the origin of which is described in my earlier notice and the progress of which, to its termination, is shown in the list appended to this paper. The first number was sent out August, 1919, and the last will be distributed in July, 1930, the series thus covering almost

exactly eleven years. In that time two hundred and sixty-one volumes have been prepared and in no case has a volume been rejected by any one of the eleven subscribing libraries. While there may have arisen doubt in the minds of some of the librarians as to the choice of an individual piece for inclusion in the series, the doubt was set aside and no objection made. The loyal confidence and aid of the libraries constituting the arrangement are here acknowledged as necessary factors in carrying the series to its end.

Some figures may be given in connection with the Americana series. The cost of the negatives of the two hundred and sixty-one pieces was $1936.24; the cost to each library of its copy — a positive and bound — was $1491.58. Had each library obtained negatives on its own account it would have cost $444.66 more than the bound positives it received — good proof of the advantage of such a combination. As a possession, a reproduction cannot be compared with an original; but it is just as good — better, for its absence of money value and risk of loss — for the purpose of examination and study. No one library can ever possess all these rarities and current prices of what comes into the market are prohibitive. The entire series cost less than one-fifth the price asked for a copy of a Columbus letter.

The libraries drawn upon for their unique holdings have granted every request and private collectors have been equally generous. The number of pieces obtained from the more important libraries may also indicate the relative importance in the contributors. Taking the six named in the earlier notice the record stands: British Museum, 50; Henry E. Huntington, 32; Bibliothèque Nationale, 30; John Carter Brown, 22; New York Public, 20; and Public Record Office, London, 17.

On the mechanical side the Society has been fortunate. In Mr. Robert H. Pearman it has had an operator, not only long practised in photography but ingenious in devising methods of improving the machine and the product. His interest in the work and skill in overcoming difficulties have tided over many an obstacle and threatened complication. With the purchase of a "duplex" machine — printing on both sides of the sensitized paper — the problems were increased, but the resulting gains in appearance, bulk of volume and general convenience have been full compensation.

In June, 1925, a "duplex" machine was installed. After long consideration and a balancing of features offered by rival makers, the Photostat "duplex" was selected and the decision came at the time when by purchase of competitors the Photostat perfected a machine which admirably satisfied the commercial requirements but did not fill the needs of the Society. By good fortune the Society came to a decision in time to secure a machine of a type that was being abandoned but which has successfully met every form of "duplex" reproduction called for.

Upon the whole it may be asserted that few decisions of the Council have had wider or more important results than its authorizing the purchase of a Photostat.

Photostat Americana

1493

Colombo, Christoforo. ¶ Epistola de insulis re | pertis de nouo. Impressa | parisius in cãpo gaillardi. 4 unnumbered leaves. **156**

Original in the Royal Library, Göttingen.

1505

Vespuccius, Americus. Von den nüwē In- | sulē und lāden so yetz kürtzlichē er | funden synt durch den Künig von Portugall. [Cuts. Colophon:] ¶ Getrückt zü Strassbürg von Mathis hũpff | vff, in dem Füntzehen hunderstē vñ fünfftē Jar. 8 unnumbered leaves. **176**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

1509

Brandt, Sebastian. The shyppe of fooles. [Colophon:] En- | prynted at London in Flete strete by Wynkȳ de worde | . . . | The yere of our lorde. M. CCCCC. IX. . . . The vi daye of Julii. 169 unnumbered leaves. **163**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Harrisse, BAV, Add., No. 33.

1510

Seneca, L. Annaeus. Tragedie Senece cum duobus commentariis. [Colophon:] ¶ Impssum Venetiis a Philippo pincio Mantuano. | Anno dñi. MCCCCCX. . . . I unnumbered leaf and 119 numbered leaves. **193**

Original in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville. MS. annotations by Ferdinand Columbus.

1511

P. Martyris ab angleria | Mediolanensis. | Opera. | Legatio babilonica | Occeanea decas. | Poemata.... [COLOPHON:] Impressum Hispali cū summa diligencia per Jacobū corum- | berger alemanū. Anno. Millessimo quingentessimo, xj. mēse vero | Aprili. 48 unnumbered leaves. MS. Map. **175**

Original in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville.

1520

ANGLIARA, JUAN DE. El viagio: col paese de lisola de loro tro- | uato por el signor zuan di angliara | ... [1520.] 2 unnumbered leaves. **184**

Original in the British Museum. Harrisse, BAV, Add., No. 65.

MARGALLO, PEDRO. Phisices Compendium. [Salmantice, 1520.] 46 numbered leaves. **148**

Original in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville.

¶ Ordenaçoēs da india. 1520. 6 unnumbered leaves. **254**

Original in the Bibliotheca Nacional de Lisboa.

1522

Newe zeittung.von dem lande. das die | Sponier funden haben ym 1521. iare genant Jucatan. | Newe zeittung vō Prussia/vō Kay: Ma: hofe 18 Martze. 1522. | Newe zceyt von des Turcken halben von Offen geschrieben. [CUT.] 6 unnumbered leaves. **201**

Original in the Augsburg Library. See *Catalogue of the John Carter Brown Library*, I. 82.

1530

Alfonsvs De Fonseca, mi- | seratione diuina. Archiepiscopus | Toletañ. . . . [Bull of Pope Alexander VI, September 26, 1493.] Madrid, 1530. 3 [1] numbered leaves. **155**

Original in the possession of Rev. Roderick Terry, Newport, R. I.

1533

GONZALES DE MERCHADO, LUIGI. Copia di vna Lettera . . . sopra la Presa del' India del Peru,... [COLOPHON:] In Firenze per Antonio mazochi Cremonese. [*c.* 1533.] 3 unnumbered leaves and 1 blank. **246**

Original in the New York Public Library (from the Kalbfleisch collection).

Serenissima & Cattho. Maesta | Cesarea. [AT END:] Data a di xvi Magio M.D.XXXIII. | Il Prefetto | della India. 4 unnumbered leaves. **252**

Original in the New York Public Library. Believed to be the first edition of Nos. 255 and 258, under 1534.

ZUMÁRRAGA, JUAN DE. Vniversis | et singvlis. R. P. ac Fratribvs in Chri | sto . . . [COLOPHON:] Ex Maioreti oppido | Kl' Ianuarij. M.D.-XXXIII. 4 unnumbered leaves. **161**

Original in the Biblioteca Colombina, Seville.

1534

Copia delle Lettere del Prefetto del | la India la nuoua Spagna detta, alla Cesarea Maesta rescritte. [1534.] 2 unnumbered leaves. **255**

Original in the New York Public Library (from the Lenox collection). Harrisse, BAV, No. 193. See Nos. 252 (1533) and 258 (1534).

Copia delle Lettere del Prefetto del | la India la nuoua Spagna detta, alla Cesarea Maesta rescritte. [COLOPHON:] MDXXXIIII. | Con gratia, & Priuilegio. 2 unnumbered leaves. **258**

Original in the New York Public Library (from the Kalbfleisch collection). See Nos. 252 (1533) and 255 (1534).

Letera de | La nobil cipta: nouamente ritrouata alle | Indie con li costumi & modi del suo Re & | soi populi: . . . [AT END:] Data in Peru adi. XXV, de Nouembre. | De MDXXXIIII. 4 unnumbered leaves. **261**

Original in the New York Public Library (from the Kalbfleisch collection). Harrisse, BAV, No. 191.

1545

FERRER, JAIME. Sentencias | Catholicas | del divi, poeta | Dant Floren | ti . . . M. D. XXXXV. [Barcelona.] 20 unnumbered leaves. [Part II of No. 77.] **152**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Harrisse, BAV, No. 261.

1565

PYSIERE, GILES DE. Discovrs | de l'Entre- | prinse et Saccage- | ment que les Forsaires de l'Isle Floride a- | uoient conclud de faire à leurs Capitaines | & Gouuerneurs, . . . A Paris pour Pièrre de Langre, Libraire. [1565.] 8 unnumbered leaves. **215**

Original in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. Courtesy of John C. McCoy.

1566

Requeste au | Roy, | Faite en Forme | de Complainctes | par les femmes vefues, & | enfans orphelins, parens & | amis de ses subiects, qui ont esté | cruellement massacrez par les | Espagnols, en la France antarti- | que, nommee la Floride. | 1566. 6 unnumbered leaves. **231**

Original in Bibliothèque Mejane. Courtesy of John C. McCoy.

1568

Histoire Me- | morable de la Re- | prinse de l'Isle de la | Floride faicte par les François, sous la | conduite du capitaine Gorgues, . . . Imprimé nouuellement, | M. D. LXVIII. 12 unnumbered leaves. **220**

Original in the Bibliothèque Mazarine. Courtesy of John C. McCoy.

1577

SETTLE, DIONYSIUS. A true reporte of | the laste voyage into the | West and Northwest regi- | ons, &c. 1577, worthily atchie- | ued by Capteine Frobisher. . . . Imprinted at Lon- | don by Henrie Middle- | ton. Anno. 1577. 24 unnumbered leaves. **140**

Original in the New York Public Library — the Christie-Miller copy.

1579

HOYARSABAL, MARTIN DE. Les | Voyages Avantv | revx dv Capitaine Martin | de Hoyarsabal, habitant | de Cubiburu. | . . . | A Bourdeaux. | De l'imprimerie de Iean Chouin. | 1579. 115 pages and 9 unnumbered leaves. **253**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1583

PECKHAM, SIR GEORGE. A trve Reporte, | Of the late discoueries, | and possession, taken in the right of | the Crowne of Englande, of the New- | found Landes: By that valiaunt and worthye | Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert | Knight | . . . | At London, | Printed by I. C. for Iohn Hinde, | . . . | Anno. 1583. 37 unnumbered leaves. **183**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

1585

Newe Zeittung ausz Venedig. | . . . Daneben auch ein kurtze verzaichnusz der rei- | chen Flotta ausz Terra Firme, und New Spanien/ | . . . | Anno Dñi 1585. | München. . . . 4 unnumbered leaves. **181**

Original in the John Carter Brown Library.

1591

HARTOP, IOB. The rare | Trauailes of Iob Hartop, an Englishman, | who was not heard of in three and | twentie yeeres space. | Wherin is declared the dangers he esca- | ped in his voiage to Gynnie, . . . London | Printed for VVilliam VVright. 1591. 12 unnumbered leaves. **138**

Original in the British Museum.

1595

C., A. Tabaco. | The distinct and seuerall o- | pinions of the late and best Phi- | sitions that haue written of | the diuers natures and qua- | lities thereof. | Gathered by A. C. | London. | Printed by Adam Islip. | 1595. 4 unnumbered leaves, 54 pages, and 1 unnumbered leaf. [Cuts.] **248**

Originals in the American Antiquarian Society and Henry E. Huntington Library.

1602

Relacion | del | Descrvbimiento | del Nvovo Mexico: | Y de otras muchas Prouincias, y Ciudades, | halladas de nueuo; . . . En Roma, Por Bartholamo Bonfadino, 1602. 60 pages. **249**

Original in the New York Public Library (from the Kalbfleisch collection).

1604

Monsalve, Miguel de. Redvcion | Vniver- | sal de todo | el Pirv, y demas | Indias, con otros mvchos | Auisos, para el bien de los naturales dellas, y en aumento de las | Reales Rentas.... [1604.] n. t., 45 [1] numbered folios. **136**

Original in the British Museum.

1605

Instrvction | dv Plantage | des Mevriers povr | Messievrs dv Clergé, | avec les Figvres povr | apprendre à nourrir les Vers, | faire & tirer les soyes. | . . . A Paris, | Par David le Clerc, . . . m. dcv. 1 unnumbered leaf, 14, 8 pages, and 4 cuts. **240**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1607

[Lescarbot, Marc.] La Defaite | des Savvages Armov- | chiqvois par le Sagamos | Membertou & ses alliez Sauvages, en | la Nouvelle France, au mois de Iuillet | dernier, 1607. | . . . | A Paris, | Chez Ieremie Perier, . . . 12 numbered leaves. **192**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Valdivia, Luys de. Copia de vna Carta | del Padre Luys de Valdiuia para el | señor Conde de Lemos Presiden- | te de Indias, fecha en Lima | a 4. de Enero 1607. 6 numbered leaves. **245**

Original in the British Museum.

1609

Des Combes, ——. Coppie d'vne Lettre | envoyee de la | Novvelle France, ou Canada, . . . A Lyon, | Par Leon Savine. | m. dcix. . . . 15 pages. **157**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

[STALLENGE, WILLIAM.] Instrvcti- | ons for the increasing | of Mulberie Trees, and the bree- | ding of Silke-wormes, for the making of | Silke in this Kingdome. | . . . | London | Printed by E. A. for Eleazar Edgar, | . . . | 1609. 12 unnumbered leaves. **145**

Original in the British Museum.

1610

[BERTRAND, ——] Lettre Missi- | ve, tovchant la | Conversion et Bap- | tesme du grand Sagamos de | la nouuelle Frãce, qui en estoit | auparauant l'arriuée des Fran- | çois le chef & souuerain. | . . . | A Paris, | Chez Iean Regnovi, . . . 1610. 6 pages and 1 blank leaf. **187**

Original in the New York Public Library.

VALDIVIA, LUYS DE. Señor. | El Padre Luys de Valdiuia Viceprouincial | de la Compañia de Iesus en el Reyno de | Chile. Digo, . . . [1610] 15 numbered leaves. **238**

Original in the British Museum.

1611

VALDIVIA, LUIS DE. Señor. | El Padre Luis de Valdiuia de la Compa- | ñia de Iesus, Digo, que siendo V. M. in- | formado, de la importancia grande de | cortar la guerra de Chile, . . . [1611?] 24 numbered leaves. **204**

Original in the British Museum.

1612

[LESCARBOT, MARC.] Relation | derniere | dece qvi s'est | passe' av Voyage | dv Sievr de Povtrincovrt, | en la Nouuelle-France | depuis 20. mois ença. | . . . | A Paris, | Chez Iean Millot, . . . | M. DCXII. 39 [1] pages. **195**

Original in the Newberry Library.

1613

PEZIEU, DE. Brief | Recveil | des Particvlaritez | contenves avx Lettres | enuoyeés, par Monsieur de Pezieu, | à Messieurs ses parents & | amis de France. | De l' Isle de Marignan au Brezil, . . . A Lyon, | Par Iean Poyet. M. DCXIII. 31 pages. **257**

Original in the John Carter Brown Library.

[CUT.] Relacion de lo | qve svcedio en el | Reyno de Chile, despues q̃ el Padre | Luys de Valdiuia, . . . en- | tró en el con sus ocho compañeros Sacerdo- | tes . . . año de 1612. 11 numbered leaves. **223**

Original in the British Museum.

1615

HUGHES, LEWIS. A Letter, | Sent into England | from the Svmmer | Ilands. . . . ¶ Printed at London by I. B. for William Welby . . . 1615. 8 unnumbered leaves. **168**

Original in the New York Public Library.

T., C. An | Advice hovv | to plant To- | bacco in | England: | . . . | London, | Printed by Nicholas Okes, . . . 1615. 11 unnumbered leaves. **259**

Original in the British Museum.

1620

Articles | accordez par Monseignevr | le Duc de Montmorency, . . . pour les voyages, commerces, traictes, & traffics | audit pays de la nouuelle France. [Nov. 26, 1620.] 8 pages. **221**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Plainte | de la Novvelle France | dicte Canada, | A la France sa Germaine. | Pour seruir de Factum en une cause pandente | au Conseil. [1620?] 15 pages. **247**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1621

HUGHES, LEWIS. A Plaine | and trve Relation | of the Goodnes of God | towards the Sommer Ilands, | written | by way of exhortation, to stirre vp | the people there to | praise God. | . . . | At London: | Printed by Edward All-de, . . . 1621. 24 unnumbered leaves. **153**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

1624

[Proclamations on Tobacco: Sept. 29, 1624; March 2, 1625; May 13, 1625; Feb. 17, 1626; March 30, 1627; Aug. 9, 1627; Jan. 6, 1631.] 18 leaves. **209**

Originals in the British Museum.

SYLVEIRA, SYMÃO ESTACIO DA. Relacaõ Sv̄maria | das covsas do Maranhão. | . . . | Em Lisboa. . . . Por Geraldo | da Vinha. Anno de 1624. 12 unnumbered leaves. **227**

Original in the Archivo de Indias, Seville.

1625

HUGHES, LEWIS. To the Right | Honovrable, the | Lords and others of his Maje- | sties most Honourable | priuie Councell. [London, 1625?] 15 unnumbered leaves. **219**

Original in the British Museum.

[VAUGHAN, WILLIAM.] Cambrensivm | Caroleia. | . . . | Londoni, | Excudebat Gulielmus Stansbeius, 1625. 110 unnumbered leaves. Map. **169**

Original in the British Museum. This volume, distributed in September, 1926, was the first of the "duplex" printing, printed on both sides of the sheet, to be sent out.

1626

Av Roy. | Svr | la Novvelle | France. | 1626. 2 unnumbered leaves and 23 pages. **260**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1629

EIBERGEN, RUTGERUS. Svvymel-Klacht | Des Spaenschen Conincks | Philippi Qvarti, | Over het eerste verlies | Van sijn silver-Vlote: . . . T' Amstelredam, | Voor Willem Iansz Stam, . . . M.DC.XXIX. 16 pages. **202**

Original in the John Carter Brown Library.

WIJNANDTS, WILLEM. Lof-Dicht, | Over de heerlijcke Vic- | torie, in het veroveren van de | Silver Vlote, in de Baey van Matanca, | onder het beleyt van den E. ende Manhaften Heer | Generael Pieter Pieterz Heyn, . . . Tot Middelbvrgh, | Voor Zacharias Roman, . . . 1629. 6 unnumbered leaves. **196**

Original in the John Carter Brown Library.

——, ——. Lobspruch | Vber die Herrliche Vi- | ctori. In Eroberung der Silberflotta / in dem | Bay. Matanca, vnter dem Commando des E. vnnd | Manhafften Peter Peters Heyn / . . . Gedruckt im Jahr Christi / | anno 1629. 6 unnumbered leaves. **208**

Original in the John Carter Brown Library.

1631

Uryheden ende Exemptien | voor de Patroonen / Meesters ofte Particulie- | ren / die op Nieu-Nederlandt eenighe colonien | . . . [COLOPHON:] t' Amstelredam, | Gedruckt by Theunis Jacobsz. Anno 1631. 6 unnumbered leaves. **197**

Original in a private collection, Holland. Believed to be a separate issue of the second part of Articulen . . . over het open ende vry stellen vanden handel ende negotie op de stadt Olinda de Pernambuco . . . Brasil . . . 1631.

1633

CHAMPLAIN, SAMUEL DE. Av Roy | Sire, | Le sieur de Champlain remontre tres- | humblement à Vostre Majesté, que les tra- | uaux par luy

soufferts, aux descouuertes de | plusieurs Terres, Lacs & Riuieres du Pays | de vostre nouuelle France, . . . [1633?]. 13 unnumbered leaves. **232**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

A | Commission | for the well gouerning | of Our people, inhabiting | in New-found-land; | Or, Traffiquing in Bayes, Creekes, | or fresh Riuers there. | ¶ Imprinted at London by Robert Barker, | . . . | M. DC. XXXIII. 1 unnumbered leaf and 22 pages. **242**

Original in the British Museum.

Edict | dv Roy | povr | l' Establissement | de la Compagnie de la | Nouuelle France. | . . . | A Paris. | Chez Sebastien Cramoisy . . . M. DC. XXXIII. 27 pages. **243**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Sommaire de l'instance pendante au Conseil | Priué du Roy. | Entre les Associez en la Compagnie de la Nouuelle | France defendeurs. | Et le sieur Guillaume de Caën . . . Signed, de Beliambe. [Dec. 1, 1633.] 8 pages. **236**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1634

Extraict des Registres | du Conseil d' Estat. | Entre Mre. Iean Iacques Dolu, . . . cy deuant Associez pour les | voyages de la Nouuelle France de la Compa- | gnie dicte de Montmorency, . . . 27 Aoust 1634. 14 pages. **216**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1642

Newes | from New-England: | of | A most strange and prodigious Birth, brought to Boston in New- | |England, October 17. being a true and exact Relation, brought over | April 19. 1642. by a Gentleman of good worth, now resident | in London. . . . [COLOPHON:] London: | Printed for John G. Smith, | 1642. 4 unnumbered leaves. **229**

Original in the British Museum.

1643

Redres | Van de | Abuysen ende Faulten in de | Colonie van Rensselaers-wijck. [CUT.] t' Amsterdam. | Gedruckt by Thunis Iacobsz, . . . Anno 1643. 8 unnumbered leaves. **205**

Original in a private collection, Holland.

1645

Two | Ordinances | of the | Lords and Commons | Assembled in Parliament, | The one dated November 2, 1643. the other | March 21. 1645. | . . . London, | Printed for John Wright, at the Kings head in the | Old-baily. 1645. 1 unnumbered leaf and 6 pages. **159**

Original in the British Museum.

1647

CARLISLE, JAMES HAY, *2d earl of*. A Declaration | . . . | Manifesting His care of, and affection to, the good and well- | fare of the Inhabitants of the Island of Barbadoes, . . . November 22, 1647. Broadside. **174**

Original in the British Museum.

Die Sabbathi 23 Ianuarii 1646. Whereas the severall Plantations in Virginia, Bermudas, Barbados, and other places | of America . . . [duties on exports to those places.] [COLOPHON:] London printed for John Wright at the Kings Head in the Old Baley, 1646. Broadside. **167**

Original in the British Museum.

1648

The | Book of the General | Lauues and Libertyes | concerning the Inhabitants of the Massachusets | . . . Cambridge. | Printed according to order of the General Court. | 1648. | And are to be solde at the shop of Hezekiah Vsher | in Boston. 2 unnumbered leaves and 59 pages. **200**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

1650

PARKER, THOMAS. The Copy of a | Letter | . . . | to | His Sister, Mrs. Elizabeth Avery, | . . . Touching sundry | Opinions | by her | Professed and Maintained. | . . . | London, Printed by John Field for Edmund Paxton, . . . 1650. 20 pages. **150**

Original in the British Museum.

1651

A | Declaration | Set forth by the Lord Lieutenant | Generall the Gentle- | men of the Councell & assembly | occasioned from the view of a printed paper. | Entituled. | An Act Prohibiting trade with the | Barbados, Virginea, Bermudes | and Antegoe. | Hagh | Printed by Samuel Broun English | Bookeseller. 1651. 7 [1] pages. **154**

Original in the British Museum.

Proiet d'vne Compagnie | pour l'Amerique. [Paris, 1651?] 8 pages. **164**

Original in the John Carter Brown Library.

1653

Memoire | povr servir | de breve instruction, tant aux | Directeurs & Commissionnaires | Provinciaux de la grande Com-| pagnie de l'Amerique, qu' à ceux | qui s'y voudront interesser, ou | passer dans le Païs. | A Paris, | Chez Gvillavme de Lvyne, . . . M. DC. LIII. 35 pages. **189**

Original in the British Museum.

1654

SHEPARD, THOMAS. A short | Catechism | familiarly | teaching the | Knowledg | Of God, and of our Selves. . . . Printed by Samuel Green at Cambridg in | New-England. 1654. 1 unnumbered leaf and 60 pages. **251**

Original in a private collection.

1655

Virginia and Maryland. | Or, | The Lord Baltamore's printed Case, | uncased and answered. | . . . | Also, | A short Relation of the | Papists late Rebellion against the Go- | vernment of his Highness the Lord Protector, . . . London, . . . 1655. 1 unnumbered leaf and 52 pages. **173**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

1656

Factvm | Du Sieur Nicolas Papin, Conseiller & Medecin | ordinaire du Roy, Demandeur. | Contre | Les Seigneurs Associés en la Compagnie de l' A- | merique, residens à Paris. 24 pages. **256**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale. Courtesy of Mr. John C. McCoy.

1657

BRITO FREIRE, FRANCISCO DE. Relac,ão | da Viagem, | qve fez ao | Estado do Brazil a Ar- | mada da Cõpanhia, | anno 1655. . . . Lisboa. | . . . | Na Officina de Henrique Valente | de Oliueira. Anno 1657. 10 unnumbered leaves. Preliminary leaves only. **142**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

BRITO FREIRE, FRANCISCO DE. Relac,ão | da Viagem, | . . . [as above.] 10 unnumbered leaves and 323 pages. [The complete volume.] **226**

Original in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

1658

PINELO, LÉON. Avtos | Acverdos | i Decretos | de Gobierno | del | real i svpremo consejo | de las Indias | . . . | En Madrid | Por Diego Diaz de la Carrera | Impresor del Reyno. | Año M. DC. LVIII. 2 unnumbered, 47 numbered and 7 unnumbered leaves. **203**

Original in the Archivo de Indias, Seville.

1659

A | Declaration | of the | General Court | of the Massachvsets | Holden at Boston in New-England, October 18. 1659. Concerning | The execution of two Quakers. Reprinted in London, 1659.

A true Relation of the Proceedings against certain | Quakers, at the generall Court of the Massachusets holden at Boston in New- | England October 18, 1659. London Printed by A. W. 1660. [In MS.: March 7, 1659 — *i.e.* 1660.] 2 broadsides. **194**

Originals in the British Museum.

MATTHEWS, MARMADUKE. The | Messiah Magnified | By the mouthes of Babes in America, | . . . | London, | Printed by A. M. for Simon Miller . . . 1659. 5 unnumbered leaves, 52 pages and 1 unnumbered leaf. **199**

Original in the British Museum.

MATTHEWS, MARMADUKE. The | Rending Church-Member | Regularly call'd Back, | to | Christ, and to his Church. . . . London, Printed by A. M. for Simon Miller . . . 1659. 5 unnumbered leaves and 45 [1] pages. **182**

Original in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.

1660

A Voyage to Virginia: | or, | The Valliant Souldier's Farwel to his Love. CUTS.

The Maydens of Londons brave adventures, | or, | A Boon Voyage intended for the Sea, | . . . CUT.

The | Woman Outwitted: | or, the | Weaver's Wife cunningly catch'd in a Trap, | by her Husband, who sold her for ten Pounds, and | sent her to Virginny. [COLOPHON:] London: Printed by and for W. O. . . . CUTS.

The Trappan'd Maiden: | or, | The Distressed Damsel. [COLOPHON:] Printed by and for W. O. CUTS.

A Net for a Night-Raven; or, A Trap for a Scold. [COLOPON:] Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, and J. Wright. 4 broadsides. **173**

Originals in the British Museum and Bodleian Library, Oxford. Mr. Wilberforce Eames places the first four *c.* 1709, and the last, *c* 1660.

1664

DOWNING, *Sir* GEORGE. A | Discourse | . . . | Vindicating | His Royal Master from the Insolencies of a Scan- | dalous Libel, . . . London, | Printed by J. M. Anno Domini, 1664. 21 [wanting 3–4] pages. **165**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

1671

A Description of a Great Sea-Storm, | That happened to some Ships in the Gulph of Florida, in September last; Drawn up by one of the | Company, and sent to his Friend at London. 1671. Broadside. **234**

Original in the British Museum.

1675

The | Quakers Farewel to England, | or | Their Voyage to New Jersey, scituate on the Continent of Virginia, | and bordering upon New England. [Colophon:] London, Printed for J. G. 1675. Broadside. **213**

Original in the British Museum.

1676

[Josselyn, John.] A Description of New-England, | Published by John Seller. [London? *c.* 1676] 4 pages. Map. **146**

Original of text, in library of Harvard University; of map by John Seller, in Library of Congress.

1677

Strange News | from | Virginia; | Being a full and true | Account | of the | Life and Death | of | Nathaniel Bacon Esquire, | . . . | London, | Printed for William Harris, . . . 1677. 8 pages. **170**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

1680

A copy of | The Church-Covenants | which have been used in the | Church of | Salem | . . . Boston, | Printed, . . . by J. F. 1680. 1 unnumbered leaf and 8 pages. **214**

Original in the American Antiquarian Society.

1682

F., R. The | Present State | of | Carolina | with | Advice to the Setlers. | . . . | London, | Printed by John Bringhurst, at the Sign of the | Book in Grace-Church-Street, 1682. 36 pages. **143**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

A true | Description | of | Carolina. [Colophon:] London, Printed for Joel Gascoin at the Plat near Wapping old Stairs, . . . [1682.] 2 unnumbered leaves. Map. **171**

Original of text, in the John Carter Brown Library; of the map, in the Library of Congress.

1683

FORD, PHILIP. A Vindication of William Penn, Proprietary of Pennsilva- | nia, from the late Aspersions spread abroad on purpose to | Defame him. [COLOPHON:] London, Printed for Benjamin Clark in George-Yard in Lombard-street, 1683. 2 pages. **147**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

1687

[DURAND, ——, *of Dauphiné.*] Voyages | d'un | Francois, | Exilé pour la | Religion, | avec | Une Description de la | Virgine & Marilan | dans | l'Amerique. | A la Haye, | Imprimé pour l' Autheur, 1687. 140 pages. **149**

Original in the Library of Congress.

1690

A Journal | of the Proceedings in the late | Expedition | To Port-Royal, on board Their Majesties Ship, the Six-Friends, | The Honourable | Sr. VWilliam Phipps Knight, | Commander in Chief, &c. | . . . | Boston in New-England, | Printed for Benjamin Harris . . . M DC XC. 16 pages. **206**

Original in the Public Record Office, London. The original issue, printed at Philadelphia by William Bradford, is in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

A Modest and Impartial | Narrative | Of several Grievances and | Great Oppressions | That the Peaceable and Most Considerable Inhabitants | of | Their Majesties Province | of New-York | in | America | Lye Under, | By the Extravagant and Arbitrary | Proceedings of Jacob Leysler and | his Accomplices. | Printed at New-York, and Re-printed at London. 1690. 1 unnumbered leaf and 26 pages **190**

Original in the Public Record Office, London.

1691

HAMMOND, LAURENCE. To the | King's | most | Excellent Majesty. | The | Humble Address of divers of the Gentry, Merchants and others, . . . Inhabiting in Boston, Char- | lestown and Places adjacent, within . . . New-England, in America. [COLOPHON:] London, | Printed by Henry Hills in Black-Fryars 1691. 8 pages. **212**

Original in the Public Record Office, London.

1714

The | Origin | of the | Whale bone-petticoat. | A | Satyr. | Boston, August 2d, 1714. 8 pages. **141**

Original in the British Museum.

1717

WISE, JEREMIAH. A | Sermon | Shewing the Suitableness, and | the Benefit of | Prayer | in | Affliction. | . . . | Boston, Printed by John Allen, | for Nicholas Boone, at the Sign | of the Bible in Cornhill, 1717. 4 unnumbered leaves and 40 pages. **172**

Original in the Library of Congress. Introduction by Increase Mather.

1720

Declaration | de los Derechos, | que por razon | de Alcavala antigua, | y moderna | deben satisfacer | en Cartagena, | y Portovelo | los Generos que fueren de España | . . . Año 1720. | En Madrid: En la Imprenta de Juan de Ariztia. 1 unnumbered and 4 numbered leaves. **179**

Original in the Archivo de Indias, Seville.

1721

A | Vindication | of the | Governour and Government | Of His Majesty's | Colony of Rhode-Island, &c. | from the unjust Aspersions and Calumnies of John | Menzies, judge of His Majesty's Court of Vice-Admi- | ralty in the same: . . . [1721?] 12 pages. **198**

Original in the Public Record Office, London. Mr. Eames calls my attention to the "Advertisement" of Judge Menzies in the *Boston News-Letter,* June 29, 1721. From the type ornaments he believes the *Vindication* was printed by Bartholomew Green, in Boston.

1726

Het | Vordeel | van het | Land | In de Oplegginge | van | Tollen: | of | Een Redeneering, aanwysende, | hoe Tollen op eenige Koop- | manschappen de Provincie van | Nieuw-York konnen Ryker ma- | ken, als die sal zyn sonder de | selve. | Te Koop by J. Peter Zenger, . . . [1726.] 39 pages. **235**

Original in the American Antiquarian Society.

The | Interest | of | City and Country | To Lay | No Duties: | or | A short Discourse shewing that | Duties on Trade, tend to the | Impoverishing City and Country. | Also, | How the Government may be | easier and better Supported | than by Duties. | New-York: Printed and sold by J. Peter | Zenger . . . 1726. 23 pages. **230**

Original in the American Antiquarian Society.

The | Interest | of the | Country | In Laying | Duties: | . . . Sold by J. Peter Zenger, . . . [New York, 1726.] 35 pages. **224**

Original in the American Antiquarian Society.

The | Two Interests | Reconciled: | occasioned | By two late Pamphlets, | called | The Interest of the Country | and | The Interest of City and Country. | New-York, | Sold by J. Peter Zenger, 1726. 31 pages. **239**

Original in the American Antiquarian Society.

1727

HUBBARD, JOHN. A | Monumental Gratitude | attempted, | In a Poetical | Relation | of the | Danger and Deliverance | of Several of the Members | of Yale-College, | in | Passing the Sound, | from | South-hold to New-Haven, | Aug. 20th, 1726. | New-London: | Printed & sold by T. Green. | 1727. 2 unnumbered leaves, 10 pages. **139**

Original in a private collection. MS. notes and poem by Cotton Mather.

1728

✠ El Rey. | Por Quanto me hallo informado de que | en las Casas de Moneda de estos mis | Reynos, y de los de Indias, . . . June 9, 1728. 17 unnumbered leaves. **185**

Original in the Archivo de Indias, Seville.

1729

BRADLEY, RICHARD. The Attorney General on reading the Votes of the 19th | of June last, finds that a Petition of the Justices of Albany, . . . [July 10, 1729.] 3 pages and 2 of Votes. **237**

Original in the Public Record Office, London.

1732

[GOOCH, WILLIAM.] A | Dialogue | between | Thomas Sweet-Scented, William | Oronoco, Planters, both Men of | good Understanding, and Justice Love- | Country, who can speak for himself. | Recommended | to the Reading of the Planters. | By a sincere Lover of Virginia. | Williamsburg: | Printed by William Parks. M, DCC, XXXII. [The first edition.] 19 pages. **228**

Original in the Public Record Office, London.

1733

A | Letter | From a Gentleman in New-York, to his | Friend in London. [COLOPHON:] America: Printed in the Year 1733. 3 pages. **217**

Original in the Public Record Office, London.

MORRIS, LEWIS. The Opinion and Argument of the | Chief Justice of the Province of New- | York, concerning the Jurisdiction of the | supream Court of the said Province, | to determine Causes in a Course of

Equity. | The Second Edition Corrected. [COLOPHON:] New-York, Printed and Sold by J. Peter Zenger. 1733. 15 pages. **233**

Original in the Public Record Office, London.

MORRIS, LEWIS. The Opinion and Argument of the | Chief Justice... The Second Edition Corrected and Amended. [Colophon:] New-York, Printed and Sold by John Peter Zenger, in Smith Street, 1733. 15 pages. **241**

Original in the Public Record Office, London. The errata at end correct "second" to "third" edition.

1737

Don Antonio Joseph de Pineda | y Capdevila... cuya Real Cedula, y Comission, es co- | mo se sigue: October 21, 1737. 6 numbered leaves. **191**

Original in the Archivo de Indias, Seville.

✠ | El Rey. | Por Decreto señalado de mi Real mano | ... la pertenencia, y apli- | cacion de las Vacantes de los Arzobispados, y Obispados de mis Indias Occidentales, ... Oct. 5, 1737. 7 numbered leaves. **210**

Original in the Archivo de Indias, Seville.

1740

A Genuine | Copy | Of two Excellent | Court Ballads | dedicated | to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Walpole.

Vernon's Glory: Or, The Spaniards Defeat. [CUTS.] London, 1741 +. 2 broadsides. **178**

Originals in the British Museum.

1746

[BORDEN, WILLIAM.] An | Address | To the Inhabitants of | North-Carolina; | occasioned | By the difficult Circumstances the Govern- | ment seems to labour under, for Want of a Medium,... Williamsburg: | Printed by William Parks, M, DCC, XLVI. 2 unnumbered leaves and 26 pages. **218**

Original in the Massachusetts Historical Society.

1748

WHITEFIELD, GEORGE. A | Letter | ... | Giving a Short Account of his late Visit to | Bermuda. | Philadelphia: | Printed by B. Franklin and D. Hall. | MDCCXLVIII. 7 pages. **180**

Original in the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester.

1750

DOOLITTLE, BENJAMIN. A Short | Narrative | Of Mischief done by the | French and Indian Enemy, | on the | Western Frontiers | Of the Province of the | Massachusetts-Bay; . . . Boston; | Printed and Sold by S. Kneeland, in Queenstreet. | MDCCL. 1 unnumbered leaf and 22 pages. **158**

Original in the New York Public Library.

1755

LAWRENCE, CHARLES. Copia fiel | De huma Carta escrita de Halifaz em | 28 de Junho do presente anno | . . . | Com a noticia da tomada do Forte Beausejour, e Capitu- | laçoens do seu rendimento. | . . . | Lisboa: | Na Officina de Pedro Ferreira, . . . Anno de 1755. | . . . 8 pages. **151**

Original in the New York Public Library.

[OSBORN, SARAH (HAGGAR).] The Nature, Certainty and Evidence of | True Christianity. | . . . | Boston. | Printed for and Sold by S. Kneeland, opposite | the Prison in Queen-Street. 1755. 15 pages. **188**

Original in the New York Historical Society.

Segunda Parte | da | Relaçam | do | Notavel Combate | sucedido | Nos Mares da America Septentrional . . . | No dia 10 de Junho . . . Escrita | Por hum Official Francez . . . Lisboa. | Na Officina de Pedro Ferreira, . . . Anno M. DCCLV. . . . 6 pages. **135**

Original in the New York Public Library.

Verdadeira Noticia, | e | Relac,am | dos notaveis successos, e grandes | conflictos, que tem acontecido na America, aonde de | prezente disputaõ seu dominio as duas Naçoens | Ingleza, | e | Franceza. | . . . | Lisboa: | Na Offic. de Domingos Rodrigues. | . . . Anno 1755. 8 pages. **144**

Original in the New York Public Library.

1756

A | Treaty | held with the | Catawba and Cherokee Indians, | at the | Catawba-Town and Broad-River, | in the | Months of February and March 1756. Williamsburg: Printed by W. Hunter. M, DCC, LVI. xiv and 25 pages. **222**

Original in the Public Record Office, London.

1757

Relation | De la Prise du Fort Georges, ou Guillaume-Henry, situé | sur le Lac Saint-Sacrement, & de ce qui s'est passé cette | année en Canada. [COLOPHON:] A Paris, . . . le 18 Octobre 1757. 12 pages. Ms. note by Henry Harrisse. **160**

Original in the Henry E. Huntington Library.

1768

Mémoire, | des Habitans et Négocians de la | Louisianne, sur l'événement du | 29. Octobre 1768. [Colophon:] A la Nlle. Orléans. | Chez Denis Braud, Imprimeur du Roi. | . . . | M. DCC. LXVIII. 21 pages. **250**

Original in the Archivo de Indias, Seville.

1771

K * * * *'s | Answer | to | Junius. | Taken from an English Paper. | Philadelphia: | Reprinted and sold by William Goddard . . . M. DCC. LXXI. 1 unnumbered leaf and 8 numbered pages. **166**

Original in the Library Company of Philadelphia.

1774

Nicholas, Robert Carter. Considerations | on the | Present State | of | Virginia. | Printed in the Year M, DCC, LXXIV. 24 pages. **244**

Original in the Public Record office, London.

1778

[Eighteen Playbills during the Occupation of Philadelphia by Major General William Howe, 1778.] Philadelphia, Printed by James Humphreys, Junr. **162**

Originals in the Library Company of Philadelphia.

1779

Signaux | de l'Escadre | du Roi, | commandée | par M. le Comte | D' Estaing. | A Bord du Languedoc, | De l'Imprimerie de F. P. Demange, Imprimeur du Roi | & de l'Escadre. | M. DCC. LXXIX. 2 unnumbered leaves and 113 pages. **207**

Original in the Bibliothèque du Port, Toulon.

1780

Calendrier | Français, | Pour l'Année Commune 1781. | Contenant | . . . | Un État des Officiers de l'Escadre, & | des principaux de l'Armée aux ordres | de M. le Comte de Rochambeau. | Les Époques les plus intéressantes de la | Guerre présente, avec les Routes du | Continent. | A Newport, | De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre, près le Parc | de la Marine. 1 unnumbered leaf and 40 pages. **177**

Made from two imperfect originals in the Rhode Island Historical Society and the George Shepley collection, Providence, R. I.

Gazette Françoise. No. 1–7. [COLOPHON:] A Newport, | De l'Imprimerie Royale de l'Escadre. | Rue de la pointe, No. 641. [1780–81.] **186**

Original in the Rhode Island Historical Society.

1781

Relation, | ou | Journal des opérations du Corps Français sous | le commandement du Comte de Rochambeau, | . . . depuis | le 15 d'Août. [COLOPHON:] A Philadelphie. | De l'Imprimerie de Guillaume Hampton. 15 pages. **225**

Original in the Archives, Paris.

1782

GRASSE-TILLY, FRANÇOIS JOSEPH PAUL, *marquis* DE. Mémoire | du Comte de Grasse, | Sur le Combat Naval du 12 Avril 1782, | avec les Plans des positions principales | des Armées respectives. 26 pages, 1 unnumbered leaf and viii folding plans. **211**

Original in the New York Public Library.

ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL, 1929.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, April 11, 1929, at 3 P.M., President ENDICOTT in the chair. The record of the March meeting was read and approved. The Librarian reported accessions:

From Mrs. Charles G. Cunningham, of Brookline, the papers of her great-grandfather, Samuel Cary of Simon, Granada, and later of Chelsea, Mass., relating to his sugar plantation at the former place, and the sale of sugar, 1757–1870; also a book of General Orders, kept in Captain Cary's Company in the regiment at St. Andrews, and part of the letter-book of Charles Paine, Boston, 1799–1804.

From Miss Clara B. Dobson, of Pasadena, California, more papers (1822–1856) of her grandfather, Lemuel Shattuck, a former associate of this Society, relating to historical and genealogical matters and to his work on health and sanitation.

From William A. Finney, of Brookline, a letter of Charles Sumner to William H. Prescott, July 10, 1843, giving the opinion of Judge Story, as to the copyright of Prescott's forthcoming work in England and America.

From Hubert T. Holland, Jacob Batchellor's commission as lieutenant of a cavalry regiment, August 21, 1812.

From Robert F. Seybolt, of Urbana, Ill., the license granted by Richard Varick, Mayor of New York, March 7, 1797, to Robert Wellham, blacksmith, to keep an inn or tavern.

From John K. Allen, of Brookline, a grant of land in North Carolina to William Routledge, April 10, 1761, as from King George II, signed by Arthur Dobbs, Governor.

From Henry Adams, by deposit, the expression of condolence by the University of Oxford to Charles Francis Adams, United States Minister to the Court of St. James's, on the assassination of President Lincoln, dated May 5, 1865, with an impression of the seal of the University, in wax in a gold case, appended: also an Address of Welcome to Mr. Adams as Minister from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, April 4, 1862, expressing its appreciation of the active measures taken by the United States toward the abolition of slavery.

From Professor Joseph Warren, by deposit, " Recollections of

Three Eras in Surgery," in typewritten form, by his father, the late Dr. J. Collins Warren.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Miss Mary Scollay Parker, a Boston pitcher bearing the legend on one side, " Success to the Crooked but interesting Town of Boston," and on the other side several lines of poetry, beginning " I know by the smoke that so gracefully curl'd."

From Matt B. Jones, the medal struck for Springfield, Vermont, July 26, 1927, to commemorate Captain Lindbergh's first non-stop flight from New York to Paris, May 20, 21, 1927.

Sidney Bradshaw Fay, of Northampton, was elected by ballot a Resident Member of the Society.

The Society then proceeded with the business of the Annual Meeting.

In the absence of Messrs. MORISON and FRANCIS R. HART, Mr. FRENCH read the

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL

While no large gifts, either of money, of manuscripts or of books and pamphlets, are to be recorded, the Society has gained something in each direction. It were to be wished that there was a wider recognition of its fitness to continue to be the great reservoir of manuscript material on New England history. Its central location, the collections it now holds, its reputation for according liberal use of its possessions and the certainty of its maintaining its eminence, make it the natural place for historical material. It is also to be wished that its printed material should be strengthened in the history of the other States of the Union. Too great attention has been given in the past to New England, and a visit to sister societies, east and west, discloses the weakness of this Society in what is important to the student, and what no other library in this community pretends to collect. It is a line of collecting in which the Society can best specialize, and publications in it are becoming more difficult to obtain and rapidly rising in price.

To rest upon gifts and upon the historical publications of the day will not make good this notable want in the library.

The question of a new building is still to be met. In almost stereotyped phrase we note the increasingly crowded conditions now endured, the crying want of room to display what the Society has and the difficulty of expanding in a manner proper to meet the requirements of the future. The impression gained by a visitor of the want of space and of a consulting room, properly arranged and lighted, is a factor that cannot be wholly avoided under present conditions. The building fund has grown a little, but it is still far below the requirements of the situation, whether it be decided to add to this present building or to remove to a location better fitted to provide what the near future will demand of the Society.

The publications of the Society during the year have been somewhat delayed, in part incidental to the change of methods introduced by the Committee of Publication. Vol. LXI of the *Proceedings* and Vol. X of the *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts-Bay,* have been completed but not yet distributed. The first volume of the *Winthrop Papers* has been reprinted, under the editorship of Mr. George Washington Robinson and will be sent out early in the spring. No new volume of *Collections* is, at present, contemplated, but the usual volumes of *Proceedings* (LXII) and of *Journals of the House of Representatives* (XI) will appear in 1929–30. Mr. Robinson is preparing for publication the continuation of the biographies of Harvard Graduates, begun by John Langdon Sibley and intended to be completed by the fund Mr. Sibley left to the Society for that purpose. A volume will be printed in the coming year, and subsequent volumes as they are ready for printing.

The Council has appointed Editor for one year Mr. Robert Stewart Mitchell. Under his direction a needed stimulus and more modern methods will be introduced into the directions in which the Society's reputation has deservedly been high. His experience and knowledge give promise of a maintenance of standards and a continuation of able performance.

The photostat has continued to reproduce the two series of colonial newspapers — the *Boston News-Letter* (to 1767) and the *Virginia Gazette* (to 1771). It has also printed and

distributed of rare Americana twenty-four volumes during the year and printed sufficient to meet the regular distribution until the summer of 1930. A more detailed account of the photostat operations, in continuation of that printed in April, 1925, will appear in this volume. Libraries, research workers, scholars and teachers, unite in recognizing the advantage of such reproductions and the comparatively low cost of preparation. The gain of having exact reproductions, with no possibility of error, is beyond measure.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Society's finances during the year ended March 31, 1929, were marked chiefly by a general reapportionment of income. On examination of the "Sibley Centenary Fund" it was found that the $156,727.24 received in 1903 and 1904 under the will of John Langdon Sibley had accumulated to a greater amount than directed in the will, and by advice of Mr. Moorfield Storey the John L. Sibley capital accounts were reconstituted as one fund, rather than two.[1] In consequence, the sum of $24,846.95 was added to income available from the Sibley bequest.

There was received January 2, 1929, from the executors of the will of Charles Grenfill Washburn the sum of $2,500 "to be expended as the Council of [the] Society may direct," and this has been entered upon the books as a permanent fund.

Investments in bonds and stocks have increased within the year from $739,179.96 to $756,566.69, a gain of $17,386.73. From investments other than the two savings bank accounts the net income was $1,965.48 greater than during the previous twelve months, the "Building Fund" for 1927–28 being included with other funds for that year for purposes of this comparison. The actual return was at the rate of 5.37 per cent, but because the permanent funds derive the benefit from the investment of income balances and capital reserve the income credits from this source were approximately 6.22 per cent. The only non-paying property now carried in the in-

[1] The Council voted June 14, 1928, to rescind the action taken December 8, 1909.

vestment account is 400 shares of Pacific Mills stock. "Capital Reserve" is a new account to carry certain credits that originated in the former investment account, in part representing profits on sales and maturities, and by the accountant in 1925 mistakenly included in income balances.

The members of the Finance Committee have taken a keen interest in all matters of investment, and their generous and kind coöperation is much appreciated.

The special account hitherto called the "Building Fund" has been brought within the Society's book accounts and this year is credited with its proportionate share of pooled income. It is now called the "Building Annex Fund" to distinguish it from the so-called "Building Account" which ostensibly is the book value of the Society's real estate. The entries in the Building Account have been traced to the original cost of the Tremont Street lot purchased of the Provident Institution for Savings, and it is clear that the net amount, $97,990.32 less the proceeds of the sale of the Ellis House, or $72,990.32, represents actually the book value of the Tremont Street property diminished by the net transfers to the General Fund of surplus from the sale of that estate not required for the present building.[2]

Net operating outlay for the year was $33,081.07, comparing with $29,838.16 for the year previous. The increase is in part owing to a slight apparent deficit in the photostat account. If the latter were on an accrual rather than on a "cash received" basis the receipts from a recent reproduction of the *Virginia Gazette* would reduce the apparently increased outlay to an amount less than $1,500.

The schedules and balance sheets included in this report point to journal entries in considerable number, most of them made necessary by the realignment of the John L. Sibley Fund, both principal and income.

G. G. Wolkins,
Treasurer.

April 11, 1929.

[2] See 2 *Proceedings*, xv. 41.

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS AS OF MARCH 31, 1929

SCHEDULE OF BONDS

	Interest Rate	*Due*	*Book Value*
American Sugar Refining Co.	6	1937	$ 13,741.00
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5	1960	9,807.50
Atchison Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. Co. Adj.	4	1995	9,000.00
Baltimore & Ohio R. R. 1st & Ref.	4	1959	3,000.00
Bangor & Aroostook R. R. Co.	4	1951	10,000.00
Kingdom of Belgium Ex. S. F.	7½	1945	8,332.00
Blackstone Valley Gas & Elec. Co.	5	1939	9,975.00
Boston & Albany Railroad Co.	5	1938	10,179.00
Boston & Maine Railroad Series V	5	1942	9,000.00
Boston & Maine Railroad Registered	4½	1944	6,000.00
Boston Elevated Railway Co.	5	1942	8,000.00
Canadian Pacific Railway Co.	4½	1946	10,007.50
Central Georgia Power Co.	5	1938	9,950.00
Chesapeake Corporation	5	1947	5,003.75
Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yds.	5	1940	9,919.44
Cleveland Short Line Railway Co.	4½	1961	9,525.00
Connecticut Power Co.	5	1963	8,640.00
Dedham Water Company	5	1935	5,050.00
Kingdom of Denmark External	6	1942	9,502.50
Detroit Edison Company	5	1933	9,500.00
Florida Power & Light Co.	5	1954	9,400.00
Great Western Power Co. of Calif.	5½	1930	6,926.79
Home Tel. & Tel. Co. of Spokane	5	1936	19,025.00
Illinois Power & Light Corp.	6	1953	5,225.00
International Paper Co. Series B	5	1947	9,770.00
International Tel. & Tel. Corp.	4½	1952	9,682.50
Long Island Railroad Co.	4	1949	6,000.00
New England Tel. & Tel. Co.	5	1932	10,080.00
New York Central & Hudson River R. R.	4	1934	15,000.00
New York Central Lines Equip. Trust	5	1935	4,807.87
New York Central Lines Equip. Trust	5	1936	4,796.32
New York, New Haven & Hartford R. R.	6	1948	25,000.00
Oklahoma Gas & Electric Co.	5	1950	4,987.50
Old Colony Gas Co.	5	1931	4,900.00
Oregon Short Line Railroad	5	1946	10,000.00
Pacific Gas & Electric Co. Ser. C	5½	1952	9,800.00
Pacific Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5	1937	9,565.00
Pennsylvania Railroad Co.	4¾	1963	8,779.25
Pere Marquette Railway Co. Ser. A	5	1956	15,000.00
Quincy Market Cold Storage & W. Co.	5½	1946	10,000.00
Rio Grande Western Railway	4	1939	5,000.00
Seattle Electric Co.	5	1929	4,925.00
Swift & Company	5	1932	11,511.60
United States Steel Corporation	5	1963	8,818.75
Warren Brothers Company	5½	1937	9,975.00
Western Telephone & Telegraph Co.	5	1932	8,912.50
Western Union Telegraph Co.	5	1938	8,716.53
Wilmington City Electric Co.	5	1951	4,900.00
City of Winnipeg	6	1946	15,784.50
			$451,421.80[3]

[3] The market value on March 31, 1929, was $448,553.75.

SECURITIES HELD IN THE SEVERAL FUNDS (Continued)
AS OF MARCH 31, 1929

Schedule of Stocks

	Shares	*Book Value*
American Smelting & Refining Co., pfd.	75	$ 7,800.00
American Sugar Refining Co., pfd.	50	5,781.05
American Telephone & Telegraph Co.	100	12,921.20
Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Ry. Co., pfd.	158	15,800.50
Boston Ground Rent Trust	100	11,775.00
Boston Real Estate Trust	6	6,720.00
Boston Wharf Company	125	13,800.00
Boston & Albany Railroad	35	7,315.00
Boston & Maine Railroad 1st pfd. A	25	2,725.00
Chicago Jct. Rys. & Union Stock Yards Co., pfd.	150	15,450.00
Cincinnati Gas & Electric Co. 5% pfd. A	10	880.00
Electric Bond & Share Co., pfd.	200	21,300.00
Engineers Public Service Co., com. no par	23	895.95
Engineers Public Service Co. 5% pfd.	100	10,000.00
Engineers Public Service Co., $5.50 pfd.	3	197.68
General Electric Co., com. no par	100	8,056.88
General Electric Co., special	10	
Kansas City Stock Yards Co., pfd.	302	23,556.00
Merchants National Bank of Boston	85	24,332.50
Old Colony R. R. Co.	25	4,200.00
Pacific Mills	400	19,860.00
Puget Sound Power & Light Co., pfd. no par	52	5,460.00
Pullman, Inc., no par	50	4,316.25
Second National Bank of Boston	50	13,500.00
Southern California Edison Co., pfd.	700	16,925.00
Southern Pacific Co.	45	4,865.63
State Street Exchange of Boston	5	410.00
United Fruit Co., no par	250	10,790.00
Western Massachusetts Companies, no par	197	12,483.75
Western Real Estate Trustees	100	18,370.00
Western Union Telegraph Co.	40	4,657.50
		$305,144.89[4]

Balance Sheet, March 31, 1929

Resources:		
Cash, on deposit with State Street Trust Co.	$ 887.13	
Petty cash, on hand at 1154 Boylston Street	200.00	$ 1,087.13
Investments — Bonds	451,421.80	
— Stocks	305,144.89	
Savings Bank Accounts	1,303.94	757,870.63
Real Estate		97,990.32
		$856.948.08
Liabilities:		
Funds — principal	$664,356.28	
Funds — income	31,590.12	$695,946.40
Ellis House Fund, invested in 1154 Boylston St.		25,000.00
Building Account		72,990.32
Capital Reserve		61,938.14
Gain and Loss		1,073.22
		$856,948.08

[4] The market value on March 31, 1929, was $373,840.88.

INVESTMENT ACCOUNT

Balance, March 31, 1928			$739,179.96
Acquired by purchase or exchange:			
Bonds			
$10,000 Canadian Pacific Ry. Co. 4½s, 1946	$10,007.50		
5,000 Chesapeake Corp. 5s, 1947 .	5,003.75		
10,000 International Tel. & Tel. Corp. 4½s, 1952	9,682.50		
9,000 Pennsylvania R. R. Co. 4¾s, 1963	8,779.25	$33,473.00	
Stocks			
30 sh. American Tel. & Tel. Co. (in part exercising rights) . .	4,494.00		
50 " Pullman, Inc.	4,316.25		
100 " Boston Ground Rent Trust .	11,775.00		
100 " Western Real Estate Trustees	18,370.00		
100 " Engineers Public Service Co. 5% pfd.	10,000.00		
3 " Engineers Public Service Co. $5.50 pfd.	197.68		
23 " Engineers Public Service Co. com.	895.95	50,048.88	
Book value of securities acquired 1928–29 . .		83,521.88	
Sold, called, matured, or exchanged:			
Bonds			
$ 1,000 Am. Sugar Ref. Co. 6s, 1947	$ 981.50		
1,000 Columbus Gas & Elec. Co. 5s, 1928	988.00		
1,000 Connecticut Power Co. 5s, 1963	960.00		
10,000 Consol. G., El. Lt. & P. Co. of Baltimore, 5s, 1949 . .	9,993.75		
19,000 Edison Elec. Ill. Co. of Boston 4½s, 1930	19,133.50		
5,000 Hershey Chocolate Co. 5s, 1928	4,993.75		
5,000 Railway & Light Securities Co. 5s, 1946	4,950.00		
5,500 Swift & Co. 5s, 1932. . . .	5,504.65		
11,000 Un. Elec. Securities Co. 5s, 1956.	10,670.00		
	58,175.15		
Stocks			
25 sh. American Glue Co., com. 2,825.00			
10 " Puget Sound P. & L. Co., pfd. . .			
5 " Puget Sound P. & L. Co., com. . . 330.00	3,155.00		
Carry forward	$61,330.15	$83,521.88	$$739,179.96

Brought forward	$61,330.15	$83,521.88	$739,179.96
Bonds written off:			
$2,000 Grand Rapids, Grand Haven & Muskegon .	1,958.00		
$2,000 Detroit, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor & Jackson . . .	1,997.00		
N.Y.N.H.& H. bonds in Dowse Publication Fund charged down to par	850.00	4,805.00	
Book value of securities disposed of, 1928–29		66,135.15	
Net increase in book value of securities			17,386.73
Balance, March 31, 1929			$756,566.69

GAINS AND LOSSES ON SALES OF SECURITIES FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1929

Gains:	*Book Value*	*Sales*	*Gains*
Bonds and Notes			
$ 1,000 American Sugar Ref. Co. 6s, 1947	$ 981.50	$ 1,040.00	$ 58.50
1,000 Columbus Elec. & Power Co. 5s, 1928	988.00	1,000.00	12.00
1,000 Connecticut Power Co. 5s, 1963	960.00	1,075.00	115.00
10,000 Consol. G. El. Lt. & P. Co. of Baltimore 5s, 1949	9,993.75	10,680.00	686.25
5,000 Hershey Chocolate Co. 5s, 1928, matured	4,993.75	5,000.00	6.25
5,000 Railway & Light Sec. Co. 5s, 1946	4,950.00	5,150.00	200.00
5,500 Swift & Co. 5s, 1932	5,504.65	5,568.75	64.10
11,000 United Elec. Sec. Co. 5s, 1956	10,670.00	11,330.00	660.00
2,000 U. S. Treas. Ctf. of Indebt. 4s, 12/15/28	1,996.88	2,000.00	3.12
	$41,038.53	$42,843.75	$1,805.22
Stocks:			
10 sh. Puget Sound P. & L. Co. prior pfd.		1,100.00	1,100.00
Transfers, correcting entries prior to April 1, 1928			4,975.50
			$7,880.72

Losses:	*Book Value*	*Sales*	*Losses*	
Bonds and Notes				
$19,000 Edison Elec. Illum. Co. of Boston 4½s, 1930 . . .	$19,133.50	$18,836.25	$ 297.25	
Carry forward				$7,880.72

Brought forward	$19,133.50	$18,836.75	$297.25	$7,880.72
Stocks				
25 sh. American Glue Co. com.	2,825.00	842.75	1,982.25	
Written off:				
Bonds				
Grand Rapids, Grand Haven & Muskegon Ry. Co. 5s, 1926	1,958.00*		1,958.00	
Detroit, Ypsilanti, Ann Arbor & Jackson Ry. 5s, 1926	1,997.00*		1,997.00	
	$25,913.50	$19,679.00	$6,234.50	
Transfers, correcting entries prior to April 1, 1928 . .			573.00	6,807.50
Balance, Gain and Loss, March 31, 1929 (*Net Gain*)				$1,073.22

* Defaulted

FUNDS PRINCIPAL ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1929

	Royalties	*Legacy*	*Income*	*Adjustments*	
Added:					
Adams . . .	$1,805.86				$ 1,805.86
Anonymous .			$ 770.01	$ 1,092.99*	1,862.00
Building Annex			2,515.87	40,441.01†	42,956.88
Ellis House .				25,000.00†	25,000.00
Lodge			63.71	− 53.17*	10.54
J. L. Sibley. .			3,472.33	102,185.09*	105,658.42
Washburn . .		$2,500.00			2,500.00
Waterston Library . . .				3,296.33‡	3,296.33
	$1,805.86	$2,500.00	$6,821.92	$171,962.25	$183,090.03
Diminished:					
W. B. H. Dowse				$ 850.00	
Sibley Centenary				130,416.60	131,266.60
Net increase in Funds Principal balances . .					$ 51,823.43
Funds Principal balances, March 31, 1928 .					637,532.85
Funds Principal balances, March 31, 1929 .					689,356.28

Sibley Centenary Fund:		
Balance, March 31, 1928		$130,416.60
Distributed as follows:		
To J. L. Sibley Fund Principal .	$102,608.51	
To Capital Reserve	9,832.52	
To Redistribution of Income . .	17,975.57	
		$130,416.60

* Because of Gain and Loss and Redistribution of Income.
† Now included in accounts; not included in March, 1928.
‡ Transfer from Waterston Library Fund Income.

J. L. Sibley Fund Principal:			
Balance, March 31, 1928		$121,077.00	
Added from Sibley Centenary Fund	102,608.51		
Less — Gain and Loss debit . . .	423.42	102,185.09	
From Income, March 31, 1929 . .		3,472.33	
		$226,734.42	

FUNDS INCOME BALANCES (summarized) FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1929

Balance, Funds Income, March 31, 1928					$ 68,203.62
Net Income from investments, including savings bank credits and interest on balances				$40,632.02	
Transfer:					
Redistribution of Income, so far as applicable to W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income				480.78	41,112.80
					$109,316.42
Income Charges:					
Net Operating Expenses				$33,081.07	
Transfers:					
Funds Income Accounts to Capital Reserve			46,150.34		
Waterston Liby. Fund Income to Principal		3,296.33			
Redistribution of Income, together with Gain and Loss adjustment					
Debit balances	14,667.76				
Credit balances	26,291.12	−11,623.36	−8,327.03	37,823.31	70,904.38
					$38,412.04
Credited to Cumulative Funds Principal (royalties to Adams Fund Principal necessarily not included *)					6,821.92
Funds Income balances, March 31, 1929					$ 31,590.12

* Royalties credited to Adams Fund are capital; not income.

RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1929

Receipts:				
Income from securities, after deducting accrued interest on securities bought			$40,482.17	
Interest on bank balances, other than savings accounts			87.30	$ 40,569.47
Charles Grenfill Washburn Legacy			2,500.00	
Royalties credited to Adams Fund Principal . . .			1,805.86	
Securities sold, called or matured:	Bonds	$58,175.15		
	Stocks	3,155.00	61,330.15	
Net gains on securities disposed of:	Gains	2,905.22		
	Losses	2,279.50	625.72	66,261.73
Withdrawn from Provident Institution for Savings				206.05
Cash on hand March 31, 1928				10,652.83
				$117,690.08

Disbursements:			
Net Operating Expenses		$33,081.07	
Securities acquired:	Bonds $33,473.00		
	Stocks 50,048.88	83,521.88	
Petty cash at 1154 Boylston Street (Ledger Account)		200.00	$116,802.95
Cash on hand March 31, 1929			887.13
			$117,690.08

INCOME SUMMARY FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1929

Receipts:		
Income from securities, after deducting accrued interest on securities bought	$40,466,77	
Interest on bank balances:		
State Street Trust Co.	88.30	
Old Colony Trust Co.	14.40	
Interest credited by Savings Banks	62.55	
		$40,632.02
Deduct income added to cumulative funds:		
Anonymous	770.01	
Building Annex	2,515.87	
Lodge	63.71	
J. L. Sibley	3,472.33	6,821.92
Current Income available for Operating Expenses		$33,810.10
Operating Expenses (net) charged against Current Income		33,081.07
Unexpended balance, carried to credit of Funds Income Accounts		$ 729.03

NET OPERATING EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR ENDED MARCH 31, 1929

Bindery:			
Salary	$ 1,440.00		
Supplies	51.08	$1,491.08	
Less Sales		12.50	$ 1,478.58
Building:			
Cleaning		497.15	
Electricity for elevator and light		226.48	
Elevator		120.26	
Furnishings, care, replacement		241.34	
Grounds, care, etc.		87.15	
Hardware, installing locks, etc.		168.45	
Heating		2,319.32	
Insurance, boiler and compensation		57.03	
Repairs		362.68	
Telephone		178.21	
Water		17.90	4,275.97
Carry forward			$5,754.55

Brought forward			$5,754.55
Cabinet:			
Medals purchased		$44.50	
Refinish and repair of marble bust		7.00	51.50
Editor and assistant			9,180.00
Engrossing: diplomas			2.00
Fares			5.10
Law:			
Advice re Sibley bequest		15.00	
Services re Act of General Court, Ch. 92, 1928, (permitting Society to hold property not in excess of $2,000,000)		100.00	115.00
Library:			
Binding		215.65	
Equipment		98.50	
Librarian and staff	10,340.04		
Less Dr. F. C. Shattuck's gift	840.00	9,500.04	
Purchases:			
Books, serials, etc.	2,136.29		
Credits	56.00	2,080.29	11,894.48
Meetings:			96.63
Photostat:			
Binding		490.45	
Cleaning		92.40	
Electricity		220.44	
Gas for heater		106.96	
R. H. Pearman, salary		2,400.00	
Printing		17.34	
Purchases		2,244.21	
Repairs		25.18	
Shipping (so far as charged)		8.82	
Water		53.72	
		5,659.52	
Less receipts		5,445.72	213.80
Postage			254.40
Publications:			
House Journals, Vol. 10 (W. B. H. Dowse Fund Income) Photogravures	102.88		
Less receipts	11.40	91.48	
Proceedings, Vol. 61 (Waterston No. 3 Fund Income)			
Composition, etc.	1,037.20		
Zinc relief plates	58.47		
Half tones	43.54		
Prints			
Blackstone MS record $12.30			
John Hancock, bill 4.90			
W. Leddra document 12.30			
Arthur Lord portrait 15.80	45.30	1,184.51	
Carry forward		$1,275.99	$27,567.46

Brought forward		$1,275.99	$27,567.46
John L. Sibley's "Sketches of Harvard Graduates" continuation (J. L. Sibley Fund Income)			
Part-time compensation of G. W. Robinson . . .		1,249.98	
Winthrop Papers, Vol. 1 (Waterston No. 2 Fund Income)			
Part-time compensation of G. W. Robinson	2,289.31		
Other charges	27.20	2,316.51	
Sundries (J. L. Sibley Fund Income)			
Advertising in New Eng. Quarterly .	39.00		
Share of bill heads	18.68		
Travel, candidate for editor.	51.58		
William Gordon transcripts	15.00		
Collection charges	.15	124.41	
		4,966.89	
Less receipts, sales of publications other than House Journals		941.12	4,025.77
Shipping			133.72
Stationery			142.97
Subscriptions:			
Bay State Historical League		2.00	
"Writings on American History"		50.00	52.00
Treasurer:			
Accounting, verifying, typing, etc. audit report as of March 31, 1928		71.50	
Assistant, salary		600.00	
State Street Trust Company, agency fees		242.56	
Surety bond	25.00		
Return premium on bond of former treasurer	2.88	22.12	
Other charges		222.97	1,159.15
Total Net Operating Expenses			$33,081.07

Messrs. Allan Forbes and Henry S. Howe, the Committee appointed to examine the accounts of the Treasurer, submitted a statement by Mr. Ernest E. Jobling, of the State Street Trust Company, as follows:

I have checked up the audit of the books of the Massachusetts Historical Society and find that all payments have been properly accounted for and receipts duly entered, except in the income summary I find that interest on bank balances according to the cash book and bank statements should be $88.30 instead of $87.30.[1] The list of investments agrees with the list from the State Street Trust Company, Trust Department.

The committee added: "We compliment Mr. Wolkins on his handling of the different funds of the Society."

[1] This was an error in copying the income summary; the accounts show $88.30, the correct amount.

SCHEDULE OF FUNDS AND FUNDS INCOME
March 31, 1929

	Balances Mar. 31, 1928	Income	Charges to Income	Income Balances Mar. 31, 1929	Principal of Funds
Adams	2,753.20	2,377.37	5,130.57		40,020.48
Amory	896.27	186.63	1,019.35	63.55	3,000.00
Appleton	1,069.80	759.16	1,828.96		12,203.00
Bigelow	156.33	124.42	409.68	−128.93	2,000.00
Billings	3,312.80	622.11	3,934.91		10,000.00
Boit	2,920.34	311.06	957.95	2,273.45	5,000.00
Brattle Street	68.10	7.63		75.73	100.00
Chamberlain	339.45	76.66	416.11		1,232.33
Dowse	1,015.66	622.11	1,637.77		10,000.00
W. B. H. Dowse	733.91	1,555.27	91.48	2,678.48	25,000.00
Ellis	709.48	1,970.01	4,504.32	−1,824.83	31,666.66
Ellis House					25,000.00
Frothingham	1,411.78	186.63	1,598.41		3,000.00
General	−1,598.40	3,601.30	7,809.67	−5,806.77	57,888.66
Hunnewell	6,163.95	311.06	869.63	5,605.38	5,000.00
Lawrence	217.75	186.63	488.27	−83.89	3,000.00
Lodge	688.83	254.84	943.67		5,184.24
Lowell	29.17	186.63	488.28	−272.48	3,000.00
Kingsmill Marrs	118.03	124.42	242.45		2,000.00
Mass. Hist. Trust	1,827.54	622.11	2,449.65		10,000.00
Grenville H. Norcross	590.14	622.11	1,212.25		10,000.00
Parker	201.59	54.92	128.30	128.21	1,000.00
Peabody	4,392.11	1,376.29	4,639.76	1,128.64	22,123.00
Salisbury	−16.89	311.06	716.28	−422.11	5,000.00
Savage	1,734.03	373.26	2,107.29		6,000.00
Schouler	1,344.06	177.30	543.50	977.86	2,850.00
C. A. L. Sibley	457.98	1,400.32	3,095.88	−1,237.58	22,509.48
J. L. Sibley	13,122.81	10,416.99	3,955.97	19,583.83	226,734.42
Slafter	399.92	62.21	462.13		1,000.00
Charles Card Smith	1,875.14	933.16	2,808.30		15,000.00
Warren		62.21	59.10	3.11	1,000.00
Washburn					2,500.00
Waterston No. 1	3,313.02	311.06	1,062.08	2,562.00	5,000.00
Waterston No. 2	6,174.79	622.11	3,687.29	3,109.61	10,000.00
Waterston No. 3	6,064.82	622.11	2,555.31	4,131.62	10,000.00
Waterston Library	−97.12	241.08	3,325.81	−3,181.85	3,875.14
Robert Winthrop	2,597.35	933.16	1,303.42	2,227.09	15,000.00
R. C. Winthrop	926.64	746.53	1,673.17		12,000.00
T. L. Winthrop	933.35	147.11	1,080.46		2,364.66
William Winthrop	1,355.89	311.06	1,666.95		5,000.00
	$68,203.62	$33,810.10	$70,904.38	$31,590.12	$633,252.07
Anonymous		770.01*			13,147.33
Building Annex		2,515.87*			42,956.88
Lodge		63.71*			
J. L. Sibley		3,472.33*			
		$40,632.02			
W. B. H. Dowse, transfer		480.78			
Total Income credits		$41,112.80			
Total funds					$689,356.28

* Included in Individual Funds Principal Accounts.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Library has been enriched during the past year by the addition of nearly six hundred volumes, seventeen hundred pamphlets, and one hundred maps and broadsides; and of the whole number six hundred titles were obtained by purchase. The manuscript items numbered over sixty volumes and many single pieces. Among these accessions a part is the gift of a few members, whose rare and continued devotion to the growth of the Library is gratefully appreciated. The Society naturally turns to its membership, first, to supply as far as possible the working tools to better enable it to carry on its chief function to publish material for history, and to aid in enlarging its resources for research work. In the use of books, and other pieces in the Library, it is interesting to note in many their personal associations through some signature of gift and inscription, by which their value is thus greatly enhanced. Many of these examples may be found on our shelves, and may there be more from our associates to add to the treasures of the Library, and continue such rich associations.

Two notable gifts to the Library, referred to in the last two annual reports, may need a further word of interest. The Warren family papers have received final additions from the estate of our late associate Dr. J. Collins Warren, through his son Prof. Joseph Warren, of the Harvard Law School, raising the total number of the gift to 176 volumes, beginning with the year 1775. The Shattuck family papers, including those of Caleb Davis, of ancestral connection, now number 115 volumes, including 76 volumes of letters received; and all of the items have been catalogued at the generous charge of one of the donors, the late Dr. Frederick C. Shattuck, our associate. These rich examples will offer suggestions of other similar possibilities. Only a few years ago, a late devoted member of the Society, happening to be on the examining committee of the Library soon after his election, was so much impressed with the extent and value of the manuscript treasures that he felt bound to obtain other family papers to add to the shelves, that his associates might be influenced by his action and follow suit.

May I record, too, the great advantage the Society has gained, in having an assistant whose time is given entirely to the arrangement and cataloguing of the manuscripts? Cards have been completed for the papers of James Murray Robbins, which include those of James Murray and Thomas Aston Coffin, loyalists, associated with Cambridge, Boston, and Milton, given by the late Archibald Murray Howe.

The bindery has been very helpful, as usual, in many ways, such as the mounting on silk of torn and fragile maps and manuscripts, the repair of old and racked bindings, the making of suitable cases to hold manuscripts, newspapers, and pamphlets, of plain and attractive lettering where needed, of portrait and exhibition labels, the repair and artistic work in restoring torn and injured engravings and photographs, and the preparation and mounting of manuscripts for their final arrangement in bound volumes. These and other efforts are needed to keep the Library and its shelves in better condition.

The service which the Library staff gives to all who consult the resources of the Library becomes increasingly interesting and important from day to day. The time is all too short to gain the information desired, but a generous response is given to all inquiries as far as time and materials in our possession will permit. Research work by graduate students and others, some from far distant states and universities, in preparation of historical work continues with unabated zeal. Some of the subjects may be of interest, on colonial life, newspapers, and trade, prices in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, information on the first fort at Saybrook, on biography including John Underhill, Cotton Mather, Henry Knox, Frémont, Mungo Mackay, Paul Revere, George Rogers Clark, the group of Cogswell, Bancroft, Longfellow, Motley, Ticknor and Everett, wages of seamen before the Revolutionary War, the Waldo Patent, uniforms in the Revolutionary War, Loyalists, colonial America, Maine and New Hampshire imprints, relations between the United States and the Barbary powers, influence of the New England ministers on public opinion, 1765–76, the *New England Courant* and its writers, and views in England against settling in America, merchants' conditions in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 1763–65.

Conditions in the care of the Society's possessions are not

less troublesome and difficult than is shown in recent reports. Both the Library and Cabinet suffer for the lack of adequate space, on the shelves for books and manuscripts, and on the walls for portraits and framed pieces, with no sign of relief in sight. The Library is still marking time; and the hope revives at the opening of each new day that some steps will be taken soon to obtain the necessary funds needed to build an additional stack to properly house the rich collections of the Society, with ample spaces for future growth.

JULIUS H. TUTTLE,
Librarian.

REPORT OF THE CABINET-KEEPER

The additions to the Cabinet during the past year have been fully reported from month to month in the *Proceedings*.

Dr. Storer, Curator of Coins and Medals, reports additions to the number of 106, of which thirty-two were of Massachusetts.

GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS,
Cabinet-Keeper.

Mr. MAYO read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON THE LIBRARY AND CABINET

The Committee to examine the Library and the Cabinet met at the Building on March 28, 1929, and made an inspection of the Society's property in these departments. It was gratifying to find that a new lighting arrangement had been installed in part of the stacks so that now it is possible to illuminate a whole aisle at a time by turning a single switch at the end of the line of shelves. For members who are not well acquainted with the location of our books and newspapers this innovation has obvious advantages. The only drawback lies in the fact that the titles on the lowest shelves are not so easily read as they were by the light of an electric handlamp on a long cord. The ideal arrangement seems to be a combination of the two facilities. The Committee, therefore, does

not hesitate to recommend the extension of the new system to other aisles in the stacks, it being understood that the handlamps already installed therein will be retained.

The steel filing-cases on the second floor in which most of the Society's engravings are preserved are so accessible and so economical of space that it seemed to the Committee that it would be advisable to store almost all of the engravings in that manner. At the present time a number of framed engravings are hung on the walls of various parts of the Building. Some are of general interest and immediate significance and should remain where they are. Others appear to have been hung merely because they were already framed when they came to the Society. These, the Committee feels, might well be removed from their frames and filed flat with the others in the cases. The classification and arrangement of the engravings now stored in that manner appear to be excellent.

The great handicap of the Library is lack of space, and this will continue to be the case until an addition to the building is constructed. When that happy time comes, and with it a new stack room, the committee appointed annually to examine the Library and the Cabinet will probably find it a difficult matter to make any unfavorable comment whatever on the preservation of the Society's valuable collections.

LAWRENCE S. MAYO, *Chairman,*
ALBERT MATTHEWS,
CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

April, 1929.

Dr. FARLOW presented the report of the Committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year and a ballot being taken the following were elected:

President.

WILLIAM CROWNINSHIELD ENDICOTT.

Vice-Presidents.

HENRY LEFAVOUR.
CHARLES HOMER HASKINS.

Recording Secretary.
HENRY WINCHESTER CUNNINGHAM.

Corresponding Secretary.
ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

Treasurer.
GEORGE GREGERSON WOLKINS.

Librarian.
JULIUS HERBERT TUTTLE.

Cabinet-Keeper.
GRENVILLE HOWLAND NORCROSS.

Members-at-Large of the Council.
CHARLES KNOWLES BOLTON.
ALLEN FRENCH.
FREDERIC WINTHROP.
HENRY GREENLEAF PEARSON.
EDWARD MOTLEY PICKMAN.

Mr. FORD read a paper with the title

MR. EMERSON WAS PRESENT

The Society has in recent years listened to reminiscences from members who could count their half century of membership and who have seen a stately procession of names pass and another marching behind them. Fifty years — the words mean much in a society such as this is. The new member enters near the hundredth on the list; in ten years he is among or near to the first fifty listed in the order of election. I was elected in 1900. At the end of twenty-eight years of membership I am in time tenth on the roll and have thus seen the passing of some eighty-nine of my predecessors in election, and of more than fifty of those who followed me.

So much happens each year that an adequate history of the Society would fill volumes. No one in recent days has recalled the meeting of February, 1881, of the quality of which it was not necessary to be present to feel its uniqueness. Thomas Carlyle died on the fourth of that month. Mr. Winthrop, then in Washington, saw the announcement and, as he wrote, "I felt that there was only one man in our Society, or perhaps anywhere on this side of the Atlantic, who could give authoritative and adequate expression to the views of his character and career which should follow such an announcement, and I wrote at once to Mr. Emerson to beg him to be with us this afternoon." Accordingly on the tenth Mr. Emerson, then in his seventy-seventh year, read from the original manuscript an account of Carlyle he had written a third of a century earlier, immediately after seeing the Scot in 1848. The paper appears in our *Proceedings* (XVIII. 324), and it was the last but one of the papers read by Emerson in a public gathering. Years ago the scene had been described to me, by two of the witnesses, Charles Card Smith and George B. Chase; how the reader had difficulty in following the manuscript, how his daughter aided him by occasional suggestion, and how those present remembered the impressive figure, then on the decline but of perfect dignity and gracious presence, little altered in outward appearance. Then in the fulness of his reputation, it was the setting of a glorious sun — an occasion to be fixed in the memory of those fortunate enough to be present; not as a pathetic scene, for the last years of his life were tranquil and happy. His biographer, Mr. Cabot, says of those years "To me there was nothing sad in his condition; it was obvious enough that he was but the shadow of himself, but the substance was there, only a little removed." [1]

The usual notice of the meeting, the outline being much as it appears in the *Proceedings,* but with a brief summary of Emerson's paper, was given in the *Boston Daily Advertiser* of February 12, and in that form reached the hands of Hugh Blair Grigsby, of Virginia, highly regarded as a scholar and an authority on Virginian history, according to the lights of that day. At the time he had just completed, almost to a day, his twenty years membership of this Society. Elected Feb-

[1] Cabot, *Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson,* II. 671.

ruary, 1861, two months before the opening of the War for Secession, he was the last of the Southerners to be taken in, until 1881, when William Wirt Henry was recognized. Grigsby and Robert C. Winthrop carried on for twenty years an active correspondence on historical and other topics. The younger Winthrop thought the interchange of letters worth preserving and, after having them bound, he presented them to the Virginia Historical Society in 1896. Through the courtesy of Mr. William G. Stanard and that Society I was enabled to study the letters and thus trace the Emerson incident farther than otherwise could have been done.

Grigsby wrote to Winthrop, February 17, 1881:

I see that your accomplished friend, Dr. Holmes, has come out in favor of a scheme for remodelling our present form of Christianity and substantially for putting such men as Socrates and Thomas Carlyle in the places of Peter and Paul. The Greek and the Scotch sages are very clever fellows, but I like the two old Apostles best. And Carlyle has gone to his rest, and his bark is fairly launched on the stream of the ages. His was the mystic mood of thought; and his way of talk implied his belief that the depth of thought must be measured by hard and inverted words and phrases. He could not utter a fine thought without a swagger, and every brave idea had to pass through a physical wriggle. But his private life is a grand lesson of purity and honor. There is a moral beauty in his requiring his remains to be deposited in the remote and obscure burial place of his sires. In a strictly literary view his style of thought and speech has done and is doing wrong, especially in New England; but it is the fate of the grotesque to be ephemeral.

After he had signed the letter he received the copy of the *Advertiser* of the 12th containing the notice of the meeting of this Society and added as a postscript:

I read it with great pleasure, and hope the remarks of Mr. Emerson will be published in full. Emerson is an elegant writer; but I must confess that I do not like his mode of treating his topics. I always put down these involutions and evolutions in thought and style as illustrations of the wrong-headinesses and dark headinesses of the writer. Talk should be bright and clear and forward to the mark. These Germanistic gentlemen could never run a race after the fashion of Paul. They never drop their fetters.[2]

[2] Grigsby to Winthrop, February 17, 1881.

His letter touched a sympathetic cord in Winthrop's heart. In spite of pressing duties Winthrop wrote an eight-paged reply in the course of which he said:

Your views and my own of Carlyle and of Emerson do not differ much. If you will turn to the 2d. volume of my Addresses and Speeches, and read a few pages from the 35th to the 41st, and particularly what is on the 39th page, you will find my views better expressed than I could express them now. Emerson was among my listeners, sitting directly before me, when I talked about the fantastic antics of some of our literary men. But he is the most amiable and lovely person in the world in his old age, and now and then he writes most striking things in poetry or prose. His brother [3] was my chum at Harvard. No two men could be more unlike than he and Carlyle, agreeing in little except their admiration for each other, and the one a bear, and the other a lamb, in outward demeanor. Both, however, have uttered great thoughts and stirred the world with their pens.[4]

Grigsby's comment thus awakened in Winthrop's memory an incident which had happened almost nineteen years before. In July, 1852, Winthrop had made an address before the Alumni of Harvard University, taking as his subject "The Obligations and Responsibilities of Educated Men." [5] The whole six pages of his address indicated by Winthrop cannot be reprinted. Beginning with a text taken from Thomas Moore, hardly a deep thinker, that "In complete novelty lay the only chance for a man ambitious of high literary reputation in these days," Winthrop asserted: "Hence the temptation to ambitious writers and speakers to quit the beaten tracks of truth, of reason, and of common sense, and to seek notoriety in extravagant conceits, startling novelties, monstrous and mischievous speculations." [6]

The paragraph which was aimed at Emerson and his kind read thus:

[3] Charles Chauncy Emerson (1808–1836).

[4] Winthrop to Grigsby, March 4, 1881.

[5] In 1837 Emerson had made an address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society, at Cambridge, on "The American Scholar." Nothing could more vividly mark the wide difference in point of view between Emerson and Winthrop than a reading of these two papers.

[6] Winthrop, *Addresses and Speeches*, II. 35.

These antics of literary ambition are so comparatively harmless, however, when they begin and end in mere peculiarities of style or obscurities of sense, that one is hardly disposed to complain of them. Nay, there is now and then one, abroad or at home, who plays his fantastic pranks, with words or with thoughts, in a manner at once so captivating and so innocent, — and with whom an eccentric mannerism is seen to be so thin and transparent a veneering upon a sound, substantial *lignum vitae* stock, — that we can hardly withhold our admiration and applause. Yet truth, and reason, and sound wisdom, have such a close and natural affinity to simplicity and perspicuity, that it is difficult to avoid distrusting one who approaches us in the mask of affected unintelligibleness or oddity. And we cannot forget, that the same clouds which, at one moment, exhibit only the exquisite colors of the rainbow or the gorgeous hues of sunset, may, at the next, bear along in their fleecy folds the deadly bolt or the destructive blast. Mere grotesquenesses of diction or of conception may excite our mirth; but, when applied to serious and solemn themes, they merit the sternest rebuke.

And he adds that the "cap and bells is quite too respectable a crown for such composers, — and that nothing but the voluntary assumption of the strait-jacket, or the certainty that they are in a condition to need it, should screen them from the scorn and reprobation of intelligent, Christian men." [7] Somehow with all its condescension, there is a reminder here of the vitriolic criticism of Emerson by the *Southern Literary Messenger,* which I read at the last meeting.

Winthrop stood high as an orator and few are so open to the charge of using words as embroidery — veneer, to use his own term — as orators. The paragraph just quoted probably sounded better when delivered by Winthrop than when read in type more than seventy-five years later. The point, however, is, that Winthrop had Emerson in mind and he must have been gratified to see Emerson among his listeners. We may suppose a certain emphasis in his delivery of that paragraph, perhaps with a glance at the pew where Emerson sat. The shaft, feathered for a particular end, was thus certain to hit at least one of the intended marks. He apparently chortles over his astuteness in striking at a dangerous social symptom. So far as Winthrop was concerned the incident was closed.

[7] Winthrop, *Addresses and Speeches,* 1852–1867, 39, 40.

We know that Emerson listened with some intentness, not from anything that Winthrop tells us but from one of those entries in Emerson's *Journal* that so expresses the detachment of the man. He could hardly have known or felt that Winthrop had him in mind when he wrote the paragraphs, and, therefore, he could have had no idea of replying to the glittering sentences intended for his correction. In his home, while the address was still fresh in his memory Emerson wrote with the coolness, assurance and balance of a surgeon in a clinic:

Mr. Winthrop is a strong example of the insufficiency of any and all outward advantages to resist public opinion in this country. He has good birth, rare as a gem with us, and his face still presents a striking resemblance to the picture of his ancestor, the first governor of Massachusetts, in the Historical Society's chambers. His name has been well marked by public esteem, by some scientific and other reputation, by wealth and fashion, ever since the Pilgrim era. He has himself had the best education and the best introduction to public life. Of blameless morals, elegant tastes, popular manners, he came early into distinction, the popular representative of Boston in Congress. He has enjoyed the rare honor, for a Northern man, of being elected the Speaker of the House. He has added the complimentary distinction of being himself the head of one section of the Whig party in this state, — not merely the permanent inferiority of Mr. Choate's position. One would say, if ability and position availed, Mr. Winthrop, of all men, would be justified in a manly independence. But such saying betrays a beautiful ignorance of the habits and exigencies of our happy land. The handsome oration pronounced to the Alumni of the College, on Thursday, will dissipate to the discerning this romancing.

Mr. Winthrop introduced his discourse with much ease and beauty, and the audience had a moment's leave to indulge the hope that statesmen and senators were as glad as others to throw off the harness and treat themselves to a pure dipping or two in the Castalian pools. But if audiences forget themselves, statesmen do not. We were presently offered the old, well-known paragraph about religion, in which Mr. Webster, Mr. Choate, and other eminent moralists have so successfully employed their histrionic eloquence.

Boston immediately took out its handkerchief to the accustomed tenderness. The power of the written and spoken letter and the immense advantage the orator enjoys in the reporting and publication over empires were well stated: then the power of private as the source of public opinion was seriously indicated. Here, it may be

said, Mr. Winthrop not said, but allowed to transpire, the only serious thing in his oration to this effect, —

I am, as you see, a man virtuously inclined, and only corrupted by my profession of politics. I should prefer the right side. You, gentlemen of these literary and scientific schools, and the important class you represent, have the power to make your verdict clear and prevailing. Had you done so, you would have found me its glad organ and champion. Abstractly, I should have preferred that side. But you have not done it. You have not spoken out. You have failed to arm me. I can only deal with masses as I find them. Abstractions are not for me. I go then for such parties and opinions as have provided me with a working apparatus. I give you my word, not without regret, that I was first for you; and though I am now to deny and condemn you, you see it is not my will but the party necessity.

Having made this manifesto, Mr. Winthrop proceeded with his work much in the tone and spirit with which Lord Bacon prosecuted his benefactor, the Earl of Essex. The whole of the discourse was therefore a profusion of bows to Boston, to the supposed Boston, though now and then a slight mistake we noticed in the guess of the orator as to what the true Boston believed. Of course not one clear statement of opinion, but every statement qualified with a considered recommendation to mercy.

Kossuth was praised because he was eloquent, and blamed because he was eloquent, and blamed because he meant sincerely. . . . The newspapers were roasted for their sectionalism and slander, and applauded for their patriotism and power. Mr. Clay was safely praised; all literary men, if we rightly understood, were soundly whipped as very naughty; Mr. Webster properly praised, and Mr. Everett.

The next entry in the *Journal,* made in the same week, is a sentence from Plotinus: "The purified soul will fear nothing — "[8] an unconscious comment on what went before.

The long extract from the *Journal,* though much less than six pages, is something more than a résumé of the address; it is a full length picture of the man, Winthrop, and, it must be confessed, it is drawn by a master hand. Winthrop struck at the eccentricities of style in literary men; Emerson says that Winthrop soundly whipped all literary men "as very naughty." A whipping is a transient pain, perhaps whole-

[8] *Journal,* VIII. 310.

some, of outward application but of dubious inward consequence, for the soul, or even the heart, is an unknown factor. But to strip a man of all his defences and expose him and his soul in his nakedness — moral and physical — is as severe a punishment as can be inflicted. Had Winthrop realized that he was to be thus exposed, not only at the time, but twenty months afterwards, in the widely circulated lecture by Emerson on the " Fugitive Slave Law," [9] where part of the judgment was repeated, he might have paused before laying himself so open to attack and to an opponent whose methods of attack involved no narrowness of view, no personal factor and therefore were the more effective. To Grigsby Winthrop had compared Emerson to a lamb, " the most amiable and lovely person in the world " — in his old age. Yet here was a valuation on Winthrop made at the time of a supposed oratorical triumph, by one whose thoughts had no trace of that petty, personal bias that so often destroys the force of a verdict. Yes, Emerson was present, very much alive to the estimation the future would give to those who, trusting to their conservatism, had lagged behind. Winthrop had looked at Emerson, but Emerson had looked through Winthrop.

In 1881, in the meeting of the Historical Society, Emerson was beyond the memory of what he had written in 1852. It had been all in the day's work. On the other hand Winthrop was in full possession of his memory and senses and we cannot but wonder if, as Emerson delivered the faltering sentences of his paper with little broken dignity, some recollection of his sweeping denunciation of the speaker jogged Winthrop's memory. He had rapped the ambitious innovator on the knuckles; Emerson had used a branding iron. Fortunately both were outwardly entirely forgetful of the thrusts exchanged quite thirty years before. In more than one aspect that meeting of the Society was notable. The last appearance of a man among his colleagues and associates, never foreseen at the time, takes on a solemnity as years pass. Emerson died fifteen months later. It is good, if only for example, to realize that no shadow of unfriendliness existed between the two men. Both had passed from the strenuous contests of life into the days of peace. It is easy to form a prejudice, political or

[9] Emerson, *Miscellanies*, 242.

social; some find comfort in nursing a prejudice, to call it into action whenever opportunity offers a temporary advantage. A man shows greatness in neglecting such opportunity, in recognizing the better qualities of a character he dislikes, for better qualities there may be. Winthrop did not neglect the opening and he received a brand that will stand as long as the Concord philosopher is read.

Mr. PERRY spoke of the impression made by Emerson on Moses Ashley Curtis [10] in 1833 as recorded in his unpublished autobiography:

Nov. 5, [1833.] Attended the first of the fourth course of lectures before the Boston Society of Natural History. Price of admission to the course with the privilege of visiting the Society's Cabinet is one dollar.

The lecture this evening by Rev. Ralph W. Emerson was on the advantages of the study of Nat. History. Several hundred were present and seemed highly gratified with the address. There was indeed much elegance in it, but on retrospect there seems to be very little of it that is tangible. His last topic of consideration seemed to be a kind of occult sympathy between the spirit of man and the material world, in which there was so much of a metaphysical dreaminess that I was unable to catch his meaning, neither do I suppose that himself knew what web he was weaving.

Mr. NORCROSS communicated the following letters from his collection:

HENRY KNOX TO HENRY JACKSON

NEW YORK, 18 March, 1787.

MY DEAR HARRY, — I have to acknowledge the receipt of your favor of the 11th instant.

I thank you for your friendly intention of communicating with our friend Rufus [Putnam], respecting a proper character to reside on our eastern lands. I hope he may be able to point out one that would be proper. Indeed I ought to be myself, and endevor to render the matter certain whether I do or do not possess an interest of sufficient magnitude to command my attention. But I am so entangled with one unproductive scheme or another, that I may find it more difficult to remove there than I properly calculated.

[10] He was born in 1808, son of Rev. Jared Curtis of Stockbridge, Mass., and after some attention to botany he studied for the ministry.

I beg that you would attend to the affair with the committee, respecting our interference with the eastern part of the plymouth claim.

General Lincoln is probably at Boston, therefore I pray you to urge him to go to the Cincinnati at Philadelphia in May if possible. If not some other person must come. I suppose one dollar each will be sufficient to obtain the diplomas. An engraver in Philadelphia has the plate. My order is all that is necessary for him to furnish the number that shall be necessary, and therefore some delegate to the convention be empowered to execute this business.

I have repeatedly hinted to you, that opinions were in some degree changed respecting the necessity of the troops ordered to be raised last October, and requested you to confer confidentially with Major North on the subject. The Contracts have been before Congress ever since they met last month. Sentiments are not favorable to the said contracts, and it is pretty certain that they will not be formed speedily. You mentioned that if your corps were offered by Congress you might get them clothed and some pay. If I recollect the purpose of my answer, for it being a private letter, I kept no copy, it was, that were the state to request the measure it might be granted, but that congress could not offer it. But I am apprehensive that in presenting a memorial that you may have gone too far and committed me. My situation is peculiarly delicate, and should my home be used on such an occasion it might be very injurious. If this has not been the case, and the measure entirely your own, I do not see any evils resulting, a zeal to have your corps clothed or any thing else may be urged, I find some application has come forward to Congress respecting the troops. I have not yet seen it, therefore I am unable to be precise respecting it. Pray is the sum of £5000. in addition to the £2500 granted before.

You mention that you are about completing a contract for clothing. I myself have no objection to this — that the board of treasury, whose province it is to make contracts may object. I must therefore apply to them, in order to obtain authority for you on this case.

The Epaulet business and other parts of your letter I will write about by the next post. I enclose you an open letter to Col. Hull respecting his rank with Major North; read seal, and give it to him. I am of the opinion that a certificate under the hand and seal of the Governor, and Secretary will be necessary an official letter to me, — certifying that they are to rank accordingly. The list you before sent was unaccompanied with any letter, and before the term *first* Major, appeared to be inserted after the list had been made out.

I shall write you more fully by Thursdays post. In the mean time I am yr Affectionate H KNOX.

JOSIAH QUINCY TO JAMES T. AUSTIN

20 Dec. Saturday [1]

Sir.

A letter has been addressed to me by a Justice of Peace from Trenton N. J. informing that a Gang of Counterfeiters have been broken up in the vicinity of Philadelphia. And that four persons by the names of Johnson, John Kimble — two blackmen — Jacob Kalbert a lad of ab. 16 mulatto or yellow, a woman named Amelia Douglas — a woman about 25 years — concerned in that Gang having counterfeit money shipped themselves in a sloop for Boston about the 10th evading the police officers of Philadelphia. The notice is given to me that our Police Officers may be on the alert. Those under my particular direction I shall notify, and I take the liberty to give you this information that you may take any measures you may deem expedient. Respectfully yrs.

JOSIAH QUINCY, *Mayor.*

They have it is said Counterfeit money with them.

DEAR SIR, —

I duly appreciate, in behalf of Harvard University, your kind offer of coming in aid of the prosecution, which the Corporation & Faculty have deemed it proper to cause to be instituted.

Not anticipating the necessity of soliciting your services, in the preliminary stages of the prosecution, by the advice and authority of the Corporation, I have employed Charles P. Curtis Esq to collect and arrange the evidence for the purpose of facilitating the District Attorney, in his examinations; who will readily make every communication, relative to the nature and extent of the proposed prosecution you may do him the honor to require.

Again expressing my thanks for the ready interest you have expressed and aid proffered, in behalf of the University. I am Very Respectfully yr. hbl. Servt.

JOSIAH QUINCY.

CAMBRIDGE, 6 June, 1834.

Hon James T Austin
Atty Gen. of the Commonwealth.

[1] Could be 1823 or 1828. Mr. Quincy was mayor from 1823 to 1828.

Josiah Quincy to William C. Bond

My dear Sir, — I send you a Copy of Edward B. Phillips' will, a your request.

This Copy was made for my special use, and for abundant caution lest the original should be lost. You will see it has a certificate of its correctness signed by my son.

I send you this copy that you may take a copy from it; as I shall wish to have the inclosed copy returned to me.

After you have taken a copy, if you wish my certificate of the correctness of yours I will give it. If you prefer it. I will write to Mr Shillaber the Registrar of Probate in Essex County and obtain from him an official copy of the will. *or you can do this yourself.* As you wish to retain a copy for the benefit of your successors, perhaps this course will be the best.

You ask for my opinion of the specific appropriation of the income.

I do not perceive that anything can be more explicit than the language of the will.

The interest of the fund is to be applied:

1. For payment of the salary of one or more astronomical observers at the observatory.

2. For the purchase of instruments or library for the use of said Corporation.

3. The interest when not so annually expended to be added to the Capital for the accumulation thereof. Yrs truly and Respectfully

Josiah Quincy.

Quincy, 4 October, 1849.

Zachary Taylor to Thomas W. Ringgold

Camp near Monterey, Mexico, September 15th, 1847.

Dear Sir, — Your welcome letter of the 10th ulto. has just reached me, and I was very much gratified to hear from you, and to learn that your own helth, as well as that of the Servants was as good as could be expected which state of things I hope will continue. I was quite pleased also to know your crop had greatly improved since you last wrote, and I entertain the hope you will succeed in making half a crop of cotton, and corn enough in addition to your peas, or nearly so, for the use of the plantation, by using great care in feeding; at the same time it is bad economy not to keep all work animals in good order; you may find it to your ad-

vantage to sow some oats early in the Spring, so as to enable you to get on without having to purchase a great deal of corn, or any other grain.

In my last letter I stated my views about the management of whatever cotton you might make; which was to try and have it picked as fast it opened, neatly handeled and carefully gined, put up neetly and sent to markket as fast as you could get twenty bales ready; at any time during the season if there was cotton enough opened, to employ the whole four, I would put them at it, laying every thing else aside, until it was secured; it is a good rule in planting never to lose any thing after it is made, no matter how small the value. there is fully as much if not more in economy of planting than there is in making. I was pleased to hear you had laid by your cotton pretty much, and was about to commence cutting wood; I trust the balance of the season will prove a dry one, if so and the frost keeps off tolerably late you may get out a good deal of wood, besides making a tolerable crop of cotton. I would not attempt to have any wood, when green, or when the ground was wet; I regret to hear wood was falling, I had hoped it would have continued to bring what you had been getting for it; if it had kept up at 3 dollars and I could have keept the hands in the cypress swampe I would have keept most of the men employed in getting out wood, cultivating most of the place in corn, which could be done most of it by the women and boys, as it would be much more profitable than making cotton; with forty men I ought to put 30 cords of wood pr day on the bank, with all ease, if the swamp was dry enough to work in, which would be double what they could make by raising cotton.

I was glad to find you had got your stock back from the hills; I must again advise you to kill off all your old cattle and feed them to the servants if they git sufficiently in order to eat. I would not keep over one hundred and twenty sheep selling if I could all surplus, and if I could not dispose of them, I would feed them also to the servants.

I deply regret to hear the injury which has been done to the levees, more particularly the lower one running back from the river to black creek, as I had hoped as the water would have come agains it on both side at the same time, and with but very little current, it would have sustained but little injury, and yet hope it is not as much so, as has been represented; however you must examine it when you have a leisure day, and if those who are interested will unite at the proper time Hartily in repairing it, we must not fail to do our part. of course if Mr. Hunt will not consent to let a levee

run the ridge as suggested so as to turn the water into black creek, it is no use in making any exination about it, it would not be necessary to do so if he would mak his levee along the river bank from his mill to Robts place, so that it will stand and resist any freshet; but as you say, will he do it? if not it is useless to attempt to do any thing to the levee below; I am completely at his mercy; but must do the best I can. as a matter of course you will have to repair that portion of the levee which has given way on our front, and would set about it as son as I had finished picking and securing my crop. We hear that Gen. Scott had reached the vicinity of the capital and after defeating a division of the Mexican army negotiations had been opened for peace, which god grant may soon end in that way; if so it will enable some of us to return to the U. States before a great while, myself I hope among the number; and be assured I will do so as soon as I can possibly get away In the mean time you must do the best you can for my interest which I am satisfied you will do, as far as practicable; taking good care of the Servants, who I wish well fed and cared for, as well as the stock of every kind will looked after, and in fact everything made the most of. and wishing you continued health and prosperity I remain with respect and esteem your Obt. Servt.

Z. TAYLOR.

P.S. I have so much writing to do, as to compel me to write in a very great hurry, or perhaps I might say much more than I have done, as well as said it better. Z. T.

MEMOIR

OF

CHARLES LEMUEL NICHOLS

BY WILLIAM VAIL KELLEN

Charles Lemuel Nichols, M.D., Litt.D., of Worcester, Massachusetts, a resident member of this Society, died on February 19, 1929. He came from pure New England stock on both his father's and mother's side. He was third in a line of successful physicians. His paternal grandfather, Ezra Nichols, M.D., a country doctor "of considerable skill and attainments," who practised medicine in Bradford, New Hampshire, married Waity Grey, by whom he had a son, Lemuel Bliss Nichols, born in that town on October 16, 1816. Lemuel graduated from Brown University in the Class of 1842, and taught for several years in Providence in the Arnold Street Grammar School. While thus teaching, he married Lydia Carter Anthony, the daughter of James Anthony, a cotton manufacturer of North Providence, and a member of the well known Rhode Island family of that name. Lemuel Nichols gave up teaching, and, deciding to adopt his father's profession, studied for a year in the Harvard Medical School, and then entered the Philadelphia Medical School, whence he was graduated in 1850 with the degree of M.D. Dr. Lemuel Nichols settled at once in Worcester and there practised his profession as a homeopathist, highly esteemed as man, physician and citizen until his death on September 28, 1883. He was a fine type of the general practitioner of his day and gained and held a large circle of patients in the city and surrounding country. He was one of the founders of the Worcester County Homeopathic Medical Society and became its first President, a position he continued to hold for many years.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Charles Lemuel Nichols, the only son of Lemuel and Lydia (Anthony) Nichols, was born in Worcester on May 29, 1851. He was fitted for college at the Highland Military Academy, situated in a hilly suburb of that city, and, entering Brown University, graduated with the Class of 1872. If not a brilliant student, his work in every part of the old-time curriculum was of an even excellence that placed him in the upper third of the class and entitled him to a part at Commencement. In one modern science, Chemistry, he led the class, as a result of which during his Senior year he became an assistant instructor in the class-room and the laboratory. His Commencement Oration reflected his attainments in that branch in its theme "Lavoisier's Services to Science."

After graduating with his class in 1872, Nichols stayed on at the University for another year as an "Instructor in Analytical Chemistry." With such a preparation for medical training, Nichols, in the Fall of 1873, entered the Harvard Medical School, and graduated in 1875 with the degree of M.D. For the sake of practical experience he went to New York and spent the following year as an *interne* in a hospital on Ward's Island. Here the true mettle of the young man disclosed itself. He was assigned to a ward, all the cases in which were on the "danger list." The more desperate the case the greater the welcome the patient received in Dr. Nichols' ward, and as a consequence the young doctor was known throughout the hospital by the sobriquet of "Old

rience for his life-
city to enter upon
der the eye of his
f the "old school,"
School, the youthful
New School" along-
one of the homeo-
h life he wore that
workers of that ilk,
r theory. Like the
ists, he adopted the
culated in his judg-
ne suffering.

Dr. Nichols was a very prince among physicians. His cheery manner, his charming smile, his encouraging word, his optimistic outlook, his assiduous care, combined with adequate knowledge and accumulating experience, were curatives that hardly needed drugs of high potency to further recovery and restore a patient to normal health.

The young doctor was successful from the first in gaining the confidence of patients and gradually carried more and more of the combined load during the remaining years of his father's life. He built up an immense practice which kept him more than busy in that growing city and in the country for miles around. He was at once his patients' physician, friend and counsellor, and bound them to him with hooks of steel. One patient has said of him: "The characteristic quality of Dr. Nichols was his loyalty to his patients not merely professionally but also personally. He stood close to them in their crises. He was not only a physician but the Good Physician in the scriptural sense. He might easily have lost his zeal for his profession were it not for his zeal for humanity. He was a symbol of refinement."

As early as 1908 Dr. Nichols was the leader in a movement among Worcester physicians to prevent the appalling mortality among children of tender years due to infected milk and to the ignorance of mothers of proper methods of feeding. The formation of the "Medical Milk Commission" of Worcester followed, of which Dr. Nichols became a dominant factor, giving generously to it of money and time, and the result was the general use of certified milk and the saving of thousands of lives of infant children. He was one of the founders of the Associated Charities of Worcester, always a director and for many years its president. After repeated attempts and against much opposition, he with like-minded persons founded the Worcester Welfare Federation, whose annual Golden Rule Fund, so speedily, easily and enthusiastically raised, is a blessing to givers, dispensers and objects alike.

Dr. Nichols was for many years a member of the Hughes Medical Club, made up of leading and progressive physicians of his own school and was a constant attendant upon its meetings in Boston, contributing to its papers and participating in

its discussions. He also lectured for many years in the Boston University School of Medicine on the History and Methodology of Medicine, and the History of Medicine and Medical Ethics. He was keenly interested in his duties as a trustee of the Westborough Hospital for the Insane, a position to which he was appointed in 1894 and continued to hold through life. He was in turn President of the Worcester County Homeopathic Medical Society, and President of the Massachusetts Homeopathic Medical Society, elevation to these offices attesting the respect of his professional brethren for him personally and their appreciation of his professional standing. During the World War Dr. Nichols threw himself with his usual enthusiasm into the local work of the Red Cross, and spared neither purse nor person in effectively promoting its noble work.

Dr. Nichols was a devoted member of All Saints Church in Worcester. He was elected upon the vestry of the parish as early as 1885, served as Junior Warden at intervals from 1902, and upon the death of the Hon. Charles G. Washburn succeeded him as Senior Warden. He was active in the formation of the Diocese of western Massachusetts, was always a delegate from All Saints to its diocesan conventions, and was an effective member first and last of every diocesan Committee. The diocese sent him as a lay delegate to successive General Conventions of the whole church, the last of which he attended being that held at Washington in October, 1928.

For the first fifteen years of his professional life Dr. Nichols was too busy to indulge his bookish instincts or to begin the collecting of books and the writing about books that absorbed him so largely during his later years. But in his Class Record of 1897 he wrote, after alluding to his busy life: "I have not forgotten the injunction of Oliver Wendell Holmes in one of his lectures at the Medical School, to have a hobby as well as a profession, and in consequence I have the incurable disease, Biblio-Mania"!

In 1897, he was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society. The first recognition by the Society of his growing interest was when he was made a member of the Committee on Publications in 1909, his service on which

lasted until 1919. He was elected a member of the Council in 1911, and continued a Councillor the rest of his life. During this period he served on the Committee on Hall, as Recording Secretary, on the Library Committee and as Secretary for Foreign Correspondence. Finally at the Annual Meeting in October, 1927, he received at the hands of the Society its highest honor, when he was elected President. His all too brief service in that office was, however, of a quality and promise fully to merit the verdict in the Council's Memorial that "Since Isaiah Thomas no one of our presidents has undertaken the duties of that office, better fitted to be the head of a learned collecting Society; and it is the Society's misfortune that he has not been spared to guide and encourage its efforts to be the leader in its chosen field."

Mr. Worthington C. Ford has described Dr. Nichols' private Collection and has commented on his bibliographical contributions to the Antiquarian Society as follows:

"In a quiet way, guided by a real love of books and intelligently directed enthusiasm, he accomplished something worthwhile in bibliography. He did not essay any large undertaking, like Sabin's *Dictionary of Books relating to America,* or Evans' *American Bibliography;* but in collecting and listing he treated minor objects and by his sense of completeness raised them above their real importance. Having at hand the library of the American Antiquarian Society, with its wealth of American imprints and newspapers, he wisely turned to it for foundation material on what would be of greatest interest locally. His first compilation of size was a *Bibliography of Worcester,* 1775–1848, privately printed on the press of his friend Franklin P. Rice of Worcester. A second edition, much enlarged, was printed in 1916. While preparing that volume he was impressed by the issues of the press of Isaiah Thomas, who was the first to set up a printing press in the town. Both in quantity and in quality Thomas stands among the most progressive printers of his day, almost as great in popularizing books as Franklin and Rivington. Dr. Nichols began to collect Thomas's publications and as a result of many years' search he has made the Thomas collection in the Antiquarian Society the most complete known, and to the end of his life Thomas's career interested him. His

study of Thomas's Diaries, correspondence and account books led to a number of essays which have widened our knowledge of the methods of printing in Massachusetts in the 18th and 19th centuries.

"A second interest was that in Massachusetts Almanacs, of which no list or special collection existed. He prepared a full bibliography, 1639–1850, a task of no little difficulty, because of the scarcity of the early issues in spite of the editions printed. That list, with its introduction, at once took its place as authoritative, covering the field so thoroughly as to leave only gleanings to be added. Out of that adventure grew the reproduction by photostat of the Massachusetts Almanacs issued in the 17th century — sixty-four in number — an achievement not since equalled. With characteristic generosity he gave the money received from the sale of sets to the Antiquarian Society.

"What he could do in minute search is shown by his study of the little tract of the Bible in Verse and the running down of the Boston edition of the Baskett Bible. Whatever he undertook had some useful purpose, either to aid him in his own collections or to indicate to institutions concerned what was required to strengthen them in the particular department treated. As a consequence the books he had on his own shelves reflected the labor he had given to bibliography. His Thomas books formed a section by themselves; his works of general reading lined his reception and living rooms; in a safe in the former he kept his incunabula, not many in number but each one bought for some special purpose, to round out a small but very select group. He knew his books and loved them for their oddity or rarity as well as for companionship. Thus in his own field he had a greater authority than would seem to be his due. Devoted to a few lines of investigation, none of them "popular," he accomplished much. He would follow up minute points, long overlooked or misinterpreted, or even controverted, and he solved the doubts in a satisfying manner. It is enough to call attention to his larger essays in book-lore; the minor instances are too numerous to list." The more important essays written by Dr. Nichols, in addition to those alluded to by Mr. Ford were: *Isaiah Thomas, Printer, Writer and Collector,* 1912; *Justus Fox, a German Printer*

of the 18th Century, 1915; *Portraits of Isaiah Thomas,* 1921; *Samuel Salisbury, a Boston Merchant in the Revolution,* 1926; and *Some Notes on Isaiah Thomas and His Worcester Imprints,* 1900.

A description of Dr. Nichols' services to the City of Worcester would be incomplete without mentioning his continued interest in the growth and usefulness of its Free Public Library. He served painstakingly as a member of the Board of Directors of the Library for the four years from January 1, 1920, acting as President of the Board for the last year of his term. The librarian says of his services to the Library: "It was a great source of satisfaction during all his term for both the librarian and the library staff to be associated with a gentleman of such sound bibliographical learning, and also common sense and judgment in all matters relating to library methods and management. His loss, I believe, is more deeply felt in Worcester than that of any contemporary."

In 1897 Dr. Nichols was also elected a member of that choice band of collectors and dilettanti, the Club of Odd Volumes of Boston, and served as its Vice-President during the year 1925, and as its President for the years 1926 and 1927. On the evening of April 15, 1908, he read a paper before the Club members on the oldest library in the world, "The Library of Rameses the Great and Some of its Books," which was subsequently published by the club under the title *The Library of Rameses,* and printed by D. B. Updike at the Merrymount Press. *The Isle of Pines,* 1668, *an Essay in Bibliography,* published by the Club in 1920 and printed at the University Press, Cambridge, was dedicated by the author, Worthington Chauncey Ford, "To Charles Lemuel Nichols, Lover of Books, Colleague, Friend."

In 1916, Dr. Nichols was made by the Corporation of Brown University a member of the Committee of Management of the John Carter Brown Library which forms part of the University. Mr. Lawrence C. Wroth, the librarian, in a sketch of him for the *Brown Alumni Monthly* says that "Dr. Nichols' knowledge of books in the library's field had made him of the greatest use to the Committee of Management and to the staff," to the latter even more than the former, as being in a "position to appreciate the value of his services to the

institution. His unusual knowledge of books and prices and of the needs of the Collection enabled us to turn to him for consultation in our daily problems. If I were asked to say, however, what had been Dr. Nichols' greatest usefulness to the library, I would say that it had been here, as everywhere else, the influence of his personality and his unfailing kindness and understanding."

In 1918 Brown University conferred upon Dr. Nichols the degree of Doctor of Letters. Subsequently and in the same year Dr. Nichols was elected by the Corporation of Brown University as a member of the Board of Fellows, and assigned for duty on the "Advisory and Executive Committee" of the Corporation, which acts as its right arm in the intervals between the infrequent meetings of that body, and is sometimes known as the "Minor Quorum." He served on this committee as well as on various other committees of the Corporation as long as he lived.

Dr. Nichols, upon his election on March 8, 1917, to resident membership in the Massachusetts Historical Society, entered its field of work with his wonted enthusiasm, and, besides contributing to its proceedings and papers, showed his deep interest in its meetings by his constant attendance. His first duty laid upon him was as Chairman of the Committee to examine the Library and Cabinet reporting at the April meeting, 1918 (*Proc.* LI, 334). He presented then an interesting statement of the needs of the Library, and was so much impressed with the extent and value of its large manuscript collection that he then promised himself to contribute something of value to add to it with the hope that other members would follow his example. The opportunity came for him to do this in March, 1922, when he obtained the papers of Gov. William Livingston, of New Jersey, and of his son-in-law Matthew Ridley of Maryland, numbering about 1500 pieces from 1770–1790. These he presented at the March meeting of that year, with extended remarks on their value and contents, and something of the family history to their possession by the late Charles Eliot Norton. He served on the Council of the Society for the term 1919 to 1921.

Dr. Nichols read his paper on Isaiah Thomas, which was to be printed elsewhere, at the January meeting, 1923. He

read a letter at the May meeting, 1925, with brief remarks, written from Agawam (Springfield) by William Pynchon to Roger Ludlow, dated Jan. 19, 1637–8. His last paper read at the January meeting, 1926, was on the "Various Forms of the Columbus Codex." He paid tributes to the memory of Lincoln Newton Kinnicutt at the January meeting, 1922, and to Granville Stanley Hall, May meeting, 1924. His last active service was on the Committee to nominate officers in April, 1926. In October, 1923, he was one of several delegates appointed by the Society to attend the centenary of Francis Parkman at Montreal on November 13, 1923.

On June 14, 1877, Dr. Nichols married Caroline Clinton Dewey, the daughter of the Hon. Francis H. Dewey of Worcester. She died on December 23, 1878, leaving a daughter, Caroline Dewey, who is the wife of George Anthony Gaskill. He married again in 1884, Mary Jarette Brayton, the daughter of the Hon. John S. Brayton of Fall River. There were three children of this marriage, Charles Lemuel Nichols, Jr.; Harriet Brayton Nichols, who is the wife of Daniel Waldo Lincoln, all of whom survive him; and Brayton Nichols, an aviator in the Overseas Army, who was accidentally killed, flying at the School at Tours in France, while preparing for the service at the front.

MAY MEETING, 1929.

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, May 10, 1929, at 3 P. M., President ENDICOTT in the chair.

The records of the April and Annual Meeting were read and approved.

The President announced the death in New York City on April 28, 1929, of James Benjamin Wilbur, a Corresponding Member of the Society.

The Librarian reported gifts:

From Dr. Henry Lee Morse, of Medfield, a collection of Morse family papers, from the home of the late Miss Frances R. Morse, of Boston, with volumes from her library.

From Mrs. John Davis Long, the papers of her late husband Governor Long, a member of this Society, being letters received from the beginning of his public service as the representative to the General Court from Hingham in 1875, as Speaker of the House, 1876–78, as Lieut.-Governor, 1879–80, as Governor, 1880–83, as Congressman from the Second Massachusetts District, 1883–89, contained in fifty-nine volumes and letter-files, and as Secretary of the Navy in the Cabinets of Presidents McKinley and Roosevelt, March 6, 1897, to May 1, 1902, in sixty-three letter-files; also his scrap-books containing cuttings of his writings and of material about him, beginning with his senior year in Harvard College, Sept., 1856, and ending with his death on August 28, 1915 — twenty-six volumes.

From Miss Caroline Latimer, of Boston, Wormeley family papers, including two written by her mother, Mary Elizabeth Wormeley, before she became Mrs. Randolph Brandt Latimer. Among them are her proposed dedication of her first novel, *Forest Hill, a Tale of Social Life in 1830–31,* London, 1846, to William Hickling Prescott; and her recollections of her father, Rear-Admiral Ralph Randolph Wormeley (1785–1852), of the British Navy.

From Mrs. Franklin Haven, of Boston, a photostat copy of the original in her possession of the pay roll of Capt. James Endicott's Company of Canton, Mass., for October, 1776, at Ticonderoga.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Joseph Dillaway Sawyer, of New York, a photostat of his graduating class, Chauncy-Hall School, in 1867.

From Mr. Abner Whiting Watriss, a silver medal struck in 1842 in commemoration of Shakspeare, owned by Thomas Dowse and associated with this Dowse Library in his home in Cambridge. Mr. Watriss, who has preserved this with care for many years, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. Oliver W. Watriss, who cared for Mr. Dowse in his later years.

From the Massachusetts Horticultural Society, its bronze centennial medal, 1929.

The Corresponding Secretary reported that a letter had been received from Professor Sydney B. Fay accepting resident membership in the Society.

It was voted, That the income of the Massachusetts Historical Trust Fund for the last financial year be retained in the Treasury, to be expended in such objects as may seem desirable to the Council of the Society.

The President announced the appointment of the following annual committees:

Finance: ALLAN FORBES, *chairman,* FRANCIS R. HART, GRENVILLE H. NORCROSS, HENRY S. HOWE;

Library: LAWRENCE S. MAYO, *chairman,* ALBERT MATTHEWS, CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

House: FREDERIC WINTHROP, *chairman,* JOHN WOODBURY, ALLEN FRENCH.

Publication: S. E. MORISON, *chairman,* CHESTER N. GREENOUGH, HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, FREDERIC WINTHROP, WORTHINGTON C. FORD.

Photostat: GEORGE G. WOLKINS, *chairman,* WORTHINGTON C. FORD, HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM.

Committee to obtain Speakers for Monthly Meetings: WILLIAM C. ENDICOTT, *chairman,* HENRY W. CUNNINGHAM, JULIUS H. TUTTLE.

Committee on Candidates for Membership: FREDERIC WINTHROP, *chairman,* JOHN T. MORSE, JR., ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Special Committee on proposed Addition to Society's House: CHARLES A. COOLIDGE, *chairman,* Dr. JOHN W. FARLOW, HENRY S. HOWE.

An address was made by Professor MICHAEL IVANOVICH ROSTOVTZEFF of New Haven, an Honorary Member, upon the Civilization of the Euphrates Valley in the Christian Era and the Middle Ages, showing lantern slides, maps and photographs of excavations.

Mr. FORD read, on behalf of Mr. M. A. DE WOLFE HOWE, a paper on

"YARATILDIA," A NOTE ON ABIEL HOLMES

Here is a name with poetic possibilities rivalling those of Ozymandias! How many readers of today will recognize "*Yaratildia*" as the title of an "Epic Poem, in Three Books," included in a slender volume, *A Family Tablet, Containing a Selection of Original Poetry,* published at Boston in 1796? And who will ascribe it, for all its anonymity, to the father of the Doctor-Autocrat, Oliver Wendell Holmes, the Rev. Abiel Holmes, minister of the First Church, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and the learned compiler of *American Annals?* I believe this can be done with a reasonable measure of confidence.

One stumbles upon a reference to *A Family Tablet* in a Massachusetts Historical Society memoir of the Rev. Abiel Holmes, by the Rev. W. Jenks, published in 1838, the year after the subject of it died. There one reads: "He was also known by a few friends at least as principal contributor to an entertaining little volume of poetical effusions, 'printed, not published,' and termed the *Family Tablet,* having been produced by members of that endeared association." The volume is presumably rare, but a copy of it is to be found in the Boston Athenæum. The Preface is a typical specimen of eighteenth century prose after its kind:

> "The music of Carryl," says Ossian, "was like the memory of joys that are past, pleasant and mournful to the soul." To perpetuate the remembrance of such joys, and, at the same time, to pay a funereal tribute to the memory of those friends who, when living, were the source of them, are the primary designs of this publication. Most of the following pieces have reference to those who are now sleeping in the dust. By their own hands were several of them

written. Some, foreign to the general design, have been added, which would not have appeared but as auxiliary to the completion of a little volume.

Whatever may be its reception at the hand of Criticism; the eye of Friendship, for which it is immediately designed, will assuredly peruse it with indulgence. If the partiality of Affection has given it an undue estimation, Candour will draw her veil over the venial error. The ashes of the dead, while disregarded by strangers, are carefully collected by the hand of a relative, and deposited in the urn, as relics of the most precious value.

Now if the Rev Abiel Holmes, as the Rev. W. Jenks declares, was the "principal contributor" to this volume, it is easy to identify him as "Myron," whose name is signed to sixteen of the forty-seven pieces of verse in the book, his nearest competitor being "Louisa" with thirteen. "Myra" follows with eight, "Eugenio" with four, "Cecilia" and "St. John" with two each, "Henry" and "Narcissa" bringing up the rear with one apiece.

If "Myron" was Abiel Holmes, it is obvious that "Myra" was his first wife, Mary Stiles, a daughter of the Rev. Ezra Stiles, the erudite president of Yale College. A poem from "Myron" to "Myra" with allusions to "the happy bridal day" and "Hymen's sacred bonds" seems to remove the relationship of those two contributors from the realm of uncertainty. Mary Stiles was married to Abiel Holmes in 1790, and died in 1795. Her brother Ezra, duly commemorated by "Cecilia," had died in 1784. By the time Abiel Holmes printed his *Family Tablet* — assuming it was he who did so — both a sister of his wife and she herself (according to a footnote in his biography of Ezra Stiles) had died. For the atmosphere of mortality pervading his Preface, there seems indeed to have been abundant occasion.

The mortuary little volume, however, has its occasional lighter aspects. One of these is found in the concluding "epic poem," "Yaratildia." A Preface to it reads as follows:

The incidents celebrated in the following little Poem actually happened during the residence of the Heroine in the Author's family. She pleasantly insisted that they merited celebration, and, with such good-humoured authority, constituted him Poet-Laureat

for the occasion, that he could not decline the office. Though this was originally designed as a winter evening's amusement, through the partiality of a few friends it now finds place in this selection.

Each of the three short "Books" of the Poem is prefaced by an "Argument" in prose — describing the skill and perseverence of Yaratildia in preparing yarn (cotton in the Argument, wool in the Poem) for the stockings she proposed to knit for herself; the repeated breaking of the thread; her triumph over difficulties; the freezing of the water in which the finished stockings were placed for cleansing; their injury by a servant's cutting of the ice; the repair of this damage; the utilization of the "reliques of the thread" for fringe, burned in the process of drying; another triumphant repairing — and conclusion: "She weaves it into a fringe, trims her cotton robe, puts it on, and attracts general admiration."

The heroic couplets in which this simple tale is elaborated — with all its implications touching the domestic life of a favored New England household late in the eighteenth century — are the harmonious numbers of a well-trained hand. The mock-seriousness of it all is, moreover, excellently sustained. Witness the last two couplets of Book II, recording the first wearing of the laboriously achieved stockings:

> And now, once more, in beauteous form appear
> The well-wrought Hose, to crown the Virgin's care:
> Her graceful limbs receive the hard-earned prize,
> From Fate far hid, and far from vulgar eyes.

Near the beginning of Book I, when the poet is justifying himself for assuming

> The task in humbler strains to tell
> What adverse lot an hapless Fair befel,

there are four other lines that one is tempted to quote:

> While wars and conquests swell the trump of Fame,
> And deeds of death unfading laurels claim;
> Say, shall the bard to private worth refuse
> The meed of praise, the tribute of the muse?

"The trump of Fame!" — where has one heard that sound before? Possibly in scores of eighteenth century poems.

Yes, but can it not be placed a little more definitely than that? Why, of course:

> Budd Doble, whose catarrhal name
> So fills the nasal trump of fame!

When Oliver Wendell Holmes, in 1876, wrote these purely Holmesian lines in "How the Old Horse Won the Bet," was he merely picking up an echo from the long indefinite past? Or was he, by chance, reverting to his own boyhood in the "Old Gambrel-roofed House" at Cambridge, where *A Family Tablet* must surely have been among his father's books, and the pages that preserved "Yaratildia" must have been those on which his eye for the whimsical would have lingered most attentively. There were eighty years between the publication of "Yaratildia" and "How the Old Horse Won the Bet." Through at least fifty of those years a phrase of the father might certainly have been tucked away in some pigeon-hole of the son's mind. Its emergence for his own use at so late a day would have been precisely one of those freaks of inheritance in which the famous son of Abiel Holmes took so vivid an interest.

JUNE MEETING

THE Society met in the Dowse Library on Thursday, June 13, 1929, at 3 P.M. In the absence of the President and both Vice-Presidents, Mr. WILLIAM V. KELLEN presided.

The records of the May meeting were read and approved.

The Librarian reported accessions:

From M. A. De Wolfe Howe, eight pages of notes made by Josiah Quincy of testimony given at the trial of the British Soldiers following the Boston " Massacre " of March 5, 1770; letters of Miss Anna Cabot Lowell to Mrs. Eliza Susan Quincy, Boston, 1795 to 1810, with a pencil sketch of Miss Lowell, copied and enlarged in 1840 by Miss Eliza Susan Quincy for Mrs. Ann Tracy, from a miniature made by Malbone in Boston, 1800; also several letters written by Edmund Quincy, at Dedham, 1851–1875.

From Matt B. Jones, a manuscript volume of notes of sermons, kept perhaps by Rev. Isaac Foster (H.C. 1671), preached probably at Charlestown, most likely in the 1670's, seventy in all, of which forty-three appear to be by Rev. Thomas Shepard (H.C. 1653), minister there, and the others by fourteen different ministers. Mr. Jones, who has made a careful study of the manuscript, also gave a photostat of an agreement signed by Mr. Foster, furnished by Lemuel A. Welles, of New York, to help in identifying the handwriting.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, lists of Thaddeus Mason Harris found in his library, of general election, artillery election and other sermons and orations.

From the Women's Educational Association, by deposit, through Miss Elizabeth Putnam, its records and reports from 1873 to 1929.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported gifts:

From Mrs. Arthur Holland, of Washington, D. C., several relics associated with William Dawes, the patriot, and his family, including wedding gifts to his daughter, Hannah, who married Judge Daniel Newcomb, of Keene, N. H., in 1800.

From the Misses Furness, the hat which Charles Sumner is said to

have worn near the time when Preston S. Brooks assaulted him at his desk in the Senate, and a copy of the *Daily National Intelligencer* of May 22, 1856, which was in his pocket at the time.

Mr. KELLEN announced the death of Russell Gray, a Resident Member, on June 7, 1929, in his seventy-ninth year; also the death on May 21, 1929, of the Right Honourable, the Earl of Rosebery, elected a Corresponding Member of this Society on October 11, 1917.

Mr. KELLEN then said:

This meeting of the Society marks the end of the long series of meetings in which Dr. Worthington Chauncey Ford has taken so large a part as the Editor of the Society. It may be hoped that he will still to a degree share in the work of the Society, and that it may have from time to time the benefit of his ripe experience and ample learning as Editor Emeritus. It is therefore fitting that a minute be placed upon the Society records at this time, noting the highly important work this distinguished scholar and literary critic has accomplished in the service of the Society.

Prior to entering upon his duties as Editor of this Society Dr. Ford had made a reputation as a sound economist, and had added thereto further distinction as an authority on historical manuscripts, fitting him for his work in this Society.

At the meeting of the Council on October 8, 1908, Dr. Ford was appointed Editor of the Society's publications, and he entered upon his duties on January 4, 1909. He had been a Resident or Corresponding Member since November 8, 1900, and a By-Law adopted on May 12, 1910, made him as Editor, an ex-officio member of the Council. The volumes edited by him are: *Proceedings,* Volume XLII, completed by him; XLIII-LXII, in all twenty-one volumes; *Collections,* 7th Series, VII-Volume LXXVII, eleven volumes; *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts,* 1715–1732, ten volumes; and the following special volumes: Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation; Autobiography of Charles Francis Adams; Education of Henry Adams; Mont Saint-Michel and Chartres, by Henry Adams; Meade's Headquarters, Lyman*

Letters; Autobiography of Thomas Jefferson Coolidge; War Letters, 1862–65, *of John Chipman Gray and John Codman Ropes;* and a volume of *Winthrop Papers* — in all fifty-one volumes.

Photostat reproductions:

Boston News-Letter, 1704–1769; Americana Series, Numbers 1 to 261; *Virginia Gazette,* 1739–1771; and other miscellaneous prints, essays, papers too numerous to mention.

It may be added that through him valuable collections of manuscripts have come to the Society.

He leaves his active work with this Society to enter upon kindred duties with the national government. He will carry with him in his new and important assignment the best wishes and warm personal regard of every member of the Society.

Mr. FUESS read a paper on

SENATOR WEBSTER GOES SOUTH

As a querulous Congress drew to a close in the spring of 1847, Washington politicians were startled by the rumor that Senator Daniel Webster was soon to take a trip, perhaps as far as New Orleans, and back up the Mississippi and the Ohio. When questioned, he confessed, in his deliberate way, that he wished to familiarize himself with the institutions and the agriculture of the South. But Northern newspapers at once surmised that he was going on an "electioneering journey." Although James K. Polk was but half through his term, plotting had begun for the Presidency in 1849; and Webster, in spite of his past disillusionment, was still gazing with pathetically eager eyes at the White House. Clay had been allowed his trial in 1844; surely it was Webster's turn at last. Probably when he originally planned his travels, he had a vague hope that, through the hypnotism of his bodily presence, he might win the support of Southern conservatives.

But before he had started, he was rudely aroused from his pleasant dream. Sagacious Whigs, recalling how they had shouted their way to victory under "Tippecanoe and Tyler too!", were scanning the war horizon for another military

hero. A single battle solved their perplexities. Relegated by political jealousy to a subordinate place, General Zachary Taylor, on Washington's Birthday, had met a much larger army of Mexicans at Buena Vista and driven them into hurried retreat. News travelled slowly in those days! Not until early April did the capital hear how "Old Rough and Ready," his uniform pierced with enemy bullets, had sat calmly on "Old Whitey" and converted a possible disaster into a triumph for our arms. From that moment, the Whig strategists transformed the stolid Taylor into a dashing and romantic leader. The illuminations along Pennsylvania Avenue in celebration of the American success revealed to Webster his own helplessness. A disappointed man, he wrote on April 18, "General Taylor's popularity seems to spread like wildfire. They say it is likely to break down party divisions, entirely, in the South and West." A week later, he added, "The probability now is that General Taylor will come in President with a rush."

Uncertain, perturbed, and irritated by business troubles, Webster postponed his departure, not sure that, under the circumstances, he ought to go. But his purpose had been publicly announced, and he could not withdraw without embarrassing explanations to the cities which were planning to welcome him. Accordingly, on Wednesday, April 28, he set out, with Mrs. Webster and her younger friend, Miss Josephine Seaton, daughter of William W. Seaton, then editor of the *National Intelligencer* and Mayor of Washington. Two servants also accompanied the party.

Webster was a seasoned traveller. As a young lawyer, he had followed the circuit in New Hampshire, through fair weather and foul. He had often been roused before dawn by the winding of the coachman's horn, had been mired and overturned on muddy highways, and had been jolted for hours without refreshment or rest. After the ordeal of his Bunker Hill Oration in 1825, he and his wife had joined the Joseph Storys on a pleasure trip to Niagara Falls which had nearly landed the illustrious jurist in his coffin. "Mr. Webster has a giant's constitution and can bear every sort of fatigue," wrote Justice Story, "but I was a good deal overcome and exhausted, and returned in very indifferent health." Webster had also been to Quebec, and had gone twice to the West — the second

time as far as St. Louis and Chicago. But, with the exception of a glimpse of Monticello in 1825 and of Richmond in 1840, he had never been below the Potomac, and knew nothing, except through books and gossip, of cotton and rice plantations, of live oaks grey with drooping moss, of colorful azaleas and japonicas — and of negro slavery! He had not seen the Deep South — the South of Swords and Roses, about which Mr. Hergesheimer has written so gracefully and sympathetically.

His tour had all the features of an imperial progress. He was, of course, in the enemy's country. It was like General Jackson's receiving a degree at Harvard, or Senator Heflin's now famous excursion to Brockton, Massachusetts. The Richmond *Republican* hailed Webster as "the Great Dragon of Old Federalism!" It was only seventeen years since he had had his memorable oratorical duel with the Southern champion, Robert Y. Hayne. Of his opposition to slavery and to the Mexican War, he had made no secret. Nevertheless he was treated as a friend wherever he stopped. South Carolinians regarded his arrival as an opportunity for the display of that chivalry upon which they so much prided themselves. Officially Webster was only a Senator, but actually he was a national symbol. Even those who abhorred his political creed were proud that he was an American and went to see the Expounder of the Constitution.

And they were rewarded. Nobody could look at that Olympian head and that grim mastiff mouth without admiration. Perhaps, at sixty-five, Webster was getting pompous and autocratic. Perhaps the old lion did growl ominously when thwarted. Nervous people found him a trifle slow and heavy. But the magnetism was still there, and he satisfied the eye as no other statesman has ever done. Even newspaper men could apply the adjective "god-like" to him without being suspected of irony.

The route chosen by the Webster party involved complicated transportation by boat, stage-coach, and railroad. Going down the Potomac to the landing at Aquia Creek, they took the train to Richmond, and went on a few days later, through Petersburg and Henderson, to Raleigh. They then drove through the "tar and turpentine country" to Goldsboro,

where they met the railroad which carried them to the coast at Wilmington. An overnight sea trip brought them to Charleston, from which they proceeded by rail to Columbia, Augusta, and Savannah. Another ocean voyage returned them to Boston. They were gone rather more than five weeks.

About this Southern adventure there has always been a certain whispered mystery. During its early stages, Webster, although tired, was in normal health and spirits. At Richmond, on the morning after his arrival, he was up and about before five o'clock, and, from his room at the Exchange Hotel, wrote a glowing description of the dawn, the period of the day which he most loved. "Among all our good people of Boston," he said, "not one in a thousand sees the sun rise twice a year. They know nothing of the morning. Their idea of it is, that it is that part of the day which comes along after a cup of coffee and a beefsteak, or a piece of toast." This was on April 29.

Two weeks later he was in Columbia, the capital of South Carolina and the seat of the State College. Evidently his mood had changed, for Professor Francis Lieber wrote of him, "Mr. Webster did not make himself agreeable here. The students illuminated their houses, the chapel windows, and public buildings; they had bonfires, music, and a torchlight procession; but he remained cold, torpid, like an alligator, and was in his intercourse absent to a degree of discourtesy which many considered rudeness." What had wrought this rapid transformation? Some biographers have attributed it to discontent with political conditions in the South. But the correct explanation is obvious when we learn that, after reaching Augusta, Georgia, he retired to his bed, ill with what he called a "remittent fever." The fact is that he had been entertained too sumptuously. He had barely escaped being the tragic hero of a modern drama, *A Northerner killed with Kindness*.

Webster's vigorous physique had been damaged by a trying gastronomic ordeal. His Southern admirers, unrestrained in their hospitality, had opened for him their hearts — and their cook-books. The program in the different cities soon became monotonous. There was the inevitable address of welcome by the "foremost" citizen, followed by a public dinner, with a group of talkative dignitaries at the head table. There was usually a reception, at which the common herd could grasp

the great man's hand. It seemed as if he were always being escorted to somewhere or from something — and he was not as young as he had been!

There were also smaller banquets, at which the supply of Southern delicacies and rare wines was inexhaustible. Although he was convivial by nature, Webster now resolved to be temperate. Often he left the festive board while the bottle was still being passed and he soon found it advisable to abandon his habit of early rising. But the warmth of his welcome required from him a responsive courtesy; and Webster, like Oscar Wilde, could resist everything except temptation. At the dinner given to him by the Bar of Charleston, the throats of the guests were moistened, we are told, "by a rich and copious supply of Madeira, Champagne, and Hock, worthy to fill a goblet and be quaffed by the rosy lips of Bacchus himself." The late Professor Herbert D. Foster, of Dartmouth, always maintained that Webster was not a heavy drinker. Much depends, of course, on one's definition of "heavy." The contemporary accounts of the festivities in Charleston furnish evidence that they were not arranged by prohibitionists; but it was admitted that, for a Yankee, Webster held his own reasonably well. The "solid men" of Charleston, drinking their "strong potations," discovered that Webster was no sour-faced and austere Puritan, but warm-blooded and companionable, with social charm and easy manners — at least until he was worn out by good cheer.

Charleston, then as to-day, took the lead in hospitality. A characteristic function was the dinner extended to Webster by the New England Society, in the auditorium where, within less than fourteen years, the Ordinance of Secession was to be signed. Behind the Chairman had been erected a miniature replica of Bunker Hill Monument, with an inscription, "Welcome, Thrice Welcome, Bright Star of the East!" The menu, which was of formidable length, included a variety of seductive beverages, and toasts were proposed at frequent intervals. A local reporter, in his enthusiasm, said, "The distinguished guest was himself in the highest spirits, and he diffused the happy and generous contagion to all around." It was indeed a love-feast. Again and again, in rhythmical phrases, Massachusetts and South Carolina were linked together. The

Honorable Benjamin F. Hunt, a native of New England, introduced Webster in a strain of dithyrambic elegy; and the visitor in his turn paid a tribute to "the distinguished sons of South Carolina in the councils of the nation." There was one dreadful moment when smouldering fires might have flared up. Former Governor James Hamilton, perhaps the least reconcilable of the old-time South Carolina secessionists, indiscreetly introduced the subject of the Webster-Hayne Debate. But Webster, equal to any diplomatic crisis, was at once on his feet suavely calling for a health to the memory of Robert Y. Hayne — "A gentleman of courteous and polished manners, of irreproachable life, a lawyer of distinction and eminence, and a highly favored son of his native state."

Still later, in the exhilaration of the hours, Webster insisted on securing the floor and speaking again, as follows:

> Gentlemen, allow me to tell you of an incident at Raleigh. A gentleman proposing to call on me asked his little son if he did not wish to go and see Mr. Webster. The boy answered, 'Is it that Mr. Webster who made the spelling book and sets me so many lessons? If that is the man, I never want to see him again as long as I live.' Now, gentlemen, I am that Mr. Webster who holds sentiments on some subjects not altogether acceptable, I am sorry to say, to some sections of the South. If I spell out some portions of the Constitution in a manner altogether different from that practised by others, I readily concede nevertheless to all others a right to disclaim my spelling and adopt an orthography more suitable to their own opinions, leaving all to that general judgment to which we must in the end all submit.

Having uttered this liberal and tactful sentiment, Webster retired to his slumbers, while the assembly drank a parting toast to "the agreeable schoolmaster who sets no lessons."

The Charleston revelry ended with a magnificent Citizens' Ball, graced by twelve hundred of the élite. On the wall were the arms of South Carolina, with those of New Hampshire on the right and of Massachusetts on the left, as if to prove that sectional disputes had been temporarily obliterated. When Mr. Webster and his lady entered, they were overwhelmed with courtesies; and he even was lured into stepping a quadrille with one of the local belles. A banquet followed. "Such

ambrosial food — such delicious nectar — were never quaffed, we are sure, by heathen gods or goddesses," said the Charleston *Courier*. At its close, the feminine contingent delicately withdrew; but we are told that "the sinewy and stalwart sex, having disposed of the ladies in the accompanying carriages, returned afresh to the new-ordered feast, and kept up the flow of wine, until

> 'Morn, her rosy steps in th' eastern clime
> Advancing, sow'd the earth with orient pearl.'"

When the details of the tour were printed in the Northern papers, abolitionists complained because Webster did not denounce slavery in its very stronghold. The Boston *Daily Whig* declared that he should not have accepted kindnesses from South Carolinians; and the usual fanatics aired their views in communications signed "Justice" and "Liberty." But Webster seems to have made no blunders. "The people are all kind and civil," he wrote to his son, Fletcher, "and I get along with the Nullifiers without making any sharp points."

There was much in plantation life which Webster could understand and appreciate, for he himself would have liked to be a feudal baron, surrounded by retainers and ruling over a vast domain. As an English country squire of the Roger de Coverly type, he would have been in his element. It is characteristic of him that both in England and in the South, he sought information on methods of agriculture. When he was urged to visit a rice field, he told the story of the man about to be married, who, asked by the parson whether he would take this woman to be his wedded wife, responded, "Sure I will; I came on purpose."

At Charleston, Colonel Jonathan Lucas invited him to his estate, forty miles up the Cooper River. With a pleasing ironic touch, the steamboat chartered for the expedition was the *Calhoun*. At an early hour on a sun-drenched morning, with banners flying, music playing, and much "of the beauty and intelligence of the city on board," the vessel set out, passing many famous old plantations. "We saw," wrote Webster, "twenty miles of rice-fields, one after another, along

the river. In some fields, one hundred hands hoeing." Disembarking after a delectable breakfast on an awning-shaded deck, the guests were guided over the spacious grounds, and Webster inspected the rice-mill, the first of its kind in South Carolina. The luncheon on the veranda of the Lucas mansion was remarkable for its luscious strawberries, about the raising of which Webster particularly inquired. On the voyage downstream, the statesman-sportsman expressed a desire to kill an alligator. A gun, filled with buckshot, was handed to him, and he fired. The reporter for the *Courier* wrote: "Although Webster did not succeed, from the smallness of the load, in killing him, yet we are confident, from the splashing which followed, that he made upon him, as he never fails to make upon everybody else, a very *deep impression*." Webster himself boasted that his shot made the alligator "jump well, and lash the water with his tail, till it foamed, like the track of a boat." The alligator story, in countless variations, made the rounds of the press, the victim being frequently described as a crocodile.

Webster had an insatiable curiosity. At Raleigh, he observed methods of making pitch and turpentine. At Columbia, he was taken to Millwood, the "great and profitable plantation" of General Wade Hampton, where he studied the cultivation of cotton. He even spent a day with two local anglers and convinced himself that the fishing was better on Cape Cod than in South Carolina. He noted especially the pernicious effect on society of the abolition of the right of primogeniture, and remarked that it "had broken in upon the whole old-fashioned aristocratic system of Southern life."

Two weeks of unremitting gaiety depleted even Webster's exuberant vitality, and, when he reached Augusta, he had just enough strength to endure one more address of welcome and summon a physician. What he needed most was a period of fasting and rest, and this he obtained by the simple device of lying in bed. When he was able to stretch his legs a few days later, he was so weak that the doctors advised him to abandon his plan of going on to Mobile and New Orleans. He was ready to listen to them, for it was growing very hot in Georgia, and he longed for the cool breezes of Marshfield.

The committee who met his special train on its arrival in

Savannah were disconcerted to see that he was "not a little reduced and enfeebled by his illness." They did not, however, modify their schedule of entertainment. He was formally waited upon and escorted to a large wooden platform in Monument square, around which a throng was closely packed. Introduced by Justice Wayne, of the United States Supreme Court, Webster, with almost miraculous powers of recuperation, made a brilliant speech, stressing the importance of the railroad in fostering prosperity. Unsheltered from a burning sun, he talked eloquently for more than half an hour. Indeed, one sentence from this address is as fine as any passage which he ever delivered — so fine that I cannot resist quoting it:

> Never before was I so forcibly impressed with the mighty influence of that great modern discovery, steam-power, as an engine of improvement, as when, during my journey hither, I witnessed the passage of a long train of cars through the dense and gloomy pine forests of your interior, self-moved by an inner power which gave no visible signs of its existence and left no trace behind it, cleaving those solitudes as a bird cuts the air, but urged by a power that could know no weariness and whose energies never flagged.

Webster struggled through one final public dinner at Savannah — a dinner marked, according to a local bard, by

> Stroke of knife and thrust of fork,
> Flow of wine and flight of cork.

He even made a most felicitous speech, in which he quoted Judge Thatcher's remark about lawyers, that they "worked hard, lived well, and died poor." During most of his sojourn at Savannah, however, it rained unceasingly. He was confined to his hotel and was glad to escape, on May 28, on board the mail steamer *Jasper* for the North.

When the boat docked at Charleston early on the next afternoon, the party went to their familiar suite at the Charleston Hotel, where Dr. Boyd provided a luncheon, and friends called to congratulate him on his survival. The *Courier* said sympathetically:

> We were truly glad to find Mr. Webster not quite killed by the lavish experience he has had of Southern kindness and hospitality —

an ordeal of no ordinary severity and peril — and that, in spite of both fever and good living, his health was rapidly recruiting and 'his bosom's lord sitting lightly on its throne.'

Towards evening, the Webster party were off again, on board the "splendid steam packet," *Southerner,* reaching New York three days later. On his arrival in Boston over the Fall River route, a representative of the *Journal* reported that Webster had "nearly recovered" from his indisposition. By June 8, he was once more at Green Harbor, thankful to be still alive, and very much excited over a mysterious box, sent to him by anonymous admirers and containing what he described as "a rich and elegant apparatus for angling."

No statesman, however accommodating, can hope to satisfy everybody. When Webster said at Savannah, "Our duty is to be content with the Constitution as it is — to resist all changes from whatever quarter," he naturally did not please the "Conscience Whigs" and those abolitionists who were preaching disunion. But, without at all truckling to Southern prejudices, he had won the regard of most of his political opponents. He was applauded in Richmond when he proposed a toast, "The States of the Union! Distinct like the billows, but *one* like the Sea!" The Charleston *Courier* said editorially: "Mr. Webster has made the most favorable impression on our community, and bears with him their respect and admiration, and will leave behind him a multitude of reminiscences, never to be forgotten." When I sought in Charleston for these "never to be forgotten reminiscences," I found them only in the yellowed pages of the *Mercury* and the *Courier,* where no one but the antiquarian would ever see them.

Calhoun had tactfully retired, during Webster's visit in the South, to his country estate among the mountains at Fort Hill, but it was observed that his friends were very gracious to Webster, and it was hinted that the two elderly statesmen, now agreed in their opposition to the Mexican War, might form an aliance. In reality, however, Webster had ceased to be an important factor in national politics. Three months before he had been hopeful that the presidential lightning might strike in his direction. He returned to hear Taylor acclaimed

as "the general who never lost a battle." Webster wrote on June 17, to James A. Hamilton: "There is a strong popular feeling in favor of General Taylor. It must be allowed to take its course for the present undoubtedly." This was a rather mild statement of the facts. In a frenzy of mob mania, "Old Zach" was being named by countless organizations as the Whig standard-bearer. It was of little consequence to the country that Daniel Webster disapproved and characterized the nomination as one "not fit to be made." The time had arrived when the party which he had helped to form could get along without him.

What had Webster profited by his journey? "We can now talk, like an eye-witness," he wrote on June 21, "of cotton-fields and rice-plantations, turpentine, cypress swamps, and alligators." The warmth of his welcome undoubtedly made him more lenient towards Southern people and their peculiar problems. So far as can be learned, he left nothing on record to show what he felt regarding slavery in operation. On such controversial matters, Webster had the reticence of an old campaigner. But it was hard for him to believe that the plantation owners with whom he had dined and wined were the devils drawn by abolitionist caricatures. He was undoubtedly impressed with the necessity and the feasibility of an understanding between North and South. As an American in the broadest sense, he realized that each section had its grievances and that each had been at times unfair and mistaken. When the Compromise of 1850 was suggested, Webster was in a mood to lend it his support. The Seventh of March Speech may have been forming in Webster's mind at Charleston and Savannah.

Mr. MATTHEWS read a paper on

THE BOOK OF AMERICA

In a paper on "The Rebellion of 1766 in Harvard College," Mr. William C. Lane printed "The Book of Harvard." This was an account by some student or students in biblical lan-

guage of the rebellion in September, 1766,[1] consequent on the Steward's persisting in serving out bad butter in commons. It instantly recalled to my mind a political skit on the Stamp Act called "The Book of America," couched also in biblical language, that had first appeared in a London newspaper earlier in that year and had been reprinted in Boston papers. Indeed, the Book of Harvard closely followed the Book of America in several respects. The prototype of all such political skits, however, is to be found in a letter written by Horace Walpole twenty-four years earlier. Sir Robert Walpole, whose ministry began in March, 1721, resigned in February, 1742, and was created Earl of Orford. On July 14 following Horace Walpole sent to Horace Mann —

THE LESSON FOR THE DAY

HERE begins the second Chapter of the first book of Preferments.

1. Now these are the Generations of Them that sought preferment.

2. Twenty years they sought preferment and found it not: yea, twenty years they wandered in the wilderness.

3. Twenty years they sought them places, but they found no resting-place for the sole of their foot.

4. And lo! it came to pass in the days of George the King, that these Men said, Go to, let us make ourselves places.

5. And they took a man named William,[2] and they made him King over them, and he made them places.

6. And these be the names of the men that have gotten them places in this their day.[3]

Then follow, in six more verses, the names of several who took office in the new administration, though William Pulteney himself refused office. Possibly similar skits had occasionally appeared earlier, but Walpole's claim that "This piece with a very few additions, was the original of a numberless quantity of the same kind, which were published upon all subjects for

[1] Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications*, X. 33–59. The "Book of Harvard" exists in several manuscript copies, and was first printed in the *Royal American Magazine* for January, 1775, II. 16–17. *Cf. Harvard Graduates' Magazine*, XXXVI. 330–331, 493.

[2] William Pulteney (1684–1762), created Earl of Bath July 13, 1742.

[3] *Letters* (ed. Toynbee), I. 252–253.

a year or two," and that it "was the original of a great number of things of that sort," [4] is no doubt well founded. At all events, such skits frequently occur after 1742 in both English and American newspapers.

The London newspapers during the period of the Stamp Act controversy are no less entertaining and valuable than are the colonial newspapers, and they deserve more careful attention than they have received at the hands of American historians.[5] While it is not my purpose to quote extensively from the London newspapers, yet some extracts which bear on the Book of America may be given. Public opinion, it need scarcely be said, was greatly divided, and the attacks on and defence of the Americans make amusing reading. In the *Gazetteer* [6] of December 13, 1765, "Tom Hunt," in a letter on the riots in New York, advocated the use of force. In the same paper of December 28, 1765, "N.N." wrote:

> The gentle terms of *republican race, mixed rabble of Scotch, Irish and foreign vagabonds, descendants of convicts, ungrateful rebels,* &c. are some of the sweet flowers of English rhetorick, with which our colonists have of late been regaled.

In the same paper of January 23, 1766, was printed "An entire New Copy of *Varses,* entitled and called STAMP ALL." This consisted of twelve stanzas, of which the last is as follows:

> And may they defend the Plantations from evil,
> And keep them from Stamp-masters, G — v — e and Devil;
> Sing tantararara NO STAMPS, &c.

In the *Public Advertiser* of January 24, 1766, appeared a communication which shows that though the term "sea power" was not then in existence, the underlying idea was recognized:

> It is, I believe, a Maxim in Politics, that whoever rules at Sea,[7] rules at Land; so that till the Americans can get a Navy (and it will be our Fault if we let them) equal to cope with ours, there is, it is

[4] *Letters,* I. xxxvi, 253, note 3.

[5] In 1925 was published Mrs. Margaret Wheeler Willard's *Letters on the American Revolution, 1774–1776.* A similar volume for the decade from 1764 to 1773 would be of value.

[6] The full title of this paper was *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser.*

[7] "To be Master of the Sea," wrote Bacon in 1625, "is an Abridgement of a Monarchy." The term sea power was used by Grote in 1849, but its cur-

presumed, but little Danger of their being able to throw off (when they inclined to it) their Subjection to the Power of Great Britain.

Turning, for a moment, to a somewhat later period, the following bit of satire at the expense of the Bostonians, while perhaps offensive in language, cannot now be denied to have well deserved the signature over which it appeared — namely, "Veritas." It is copied from the *Gazetteer* of November 17, 1770:

Know assuredly, that after the next meeting of the select committee of saints, thy house and thy warehouse shall be cursed in every news-paper; and that the *savoury contributions* of the full-charged sons of liberty, instead of sinking into the *impure recesses of Cloacina,* shall besmear thy dwelling, so that there shall be no going out or coming in in safety; thou shalt be dragged from the arms of thy wife and children; thy naked body shall be covered with tar, and ornamented with feathers; thou shalt be carted before the blessed saints of God through every street of the loyal town; from thence thou shalt be carried to the gallows, and thy quarters shall perch upon the tree of liberty; it shall flourish with new fruit; and thy house, name and carcass shall stink, and be held in abomination throughout all the holy land.

But there was another side to the picture, and this is depicted by a writer in the *Gazetteer* of February 19, 1766:

I have lived many years in different provinces of North America, and never knew a native of that land disloyal: they affectionately doated upon their King, and prided themselves in their mother country, and home, as they call England.

In the *Public Advertiser* of February 27, 1766, was printed "An Ode from an American to the Right Honourable W. P—," [8] which deserves mention from the singularity of the signature employed, namely, "L.V. *Poet Laureate to the Federal Union.*"

Horace Walpole's account of how Grenville obtained the sobriquet of "the Gentle Shepherd" is pertinent:

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rency in its more abstract use is due to the late Admiral Mahan, whose *Influence of Sea-power on History* was published in 1890. See the *Oxford English Dictionary* under "Sea," 1 e, and "Sea-power."

[8] William Pitt (1708–1778), first Earl of Chatham.

In the discussion of these ways and means, George Grenville complained that men objected to laying burthens on the sinking fund, and called rather for new taxes. He wished gentlemen would shew him *where* to lay them. Repeating this question in his querulous, languid, fatiguing tone, Pitt, who sat opposite to him, mimicking his accent aloud, repeated these words of an old ditty — *Gentle shepherd, tell me where!* and then rising, abused Grenville bitterly. He had no sooner finished than Grenville started up in a transport of rage, and said, if gentlemen were to be treated with that contempt — Pitt was walking out of the House, but at that word turned round, made a sneering bow to Grenville and departed. The latter had provoked him by stating the profusions of the war. There is use in recording this anecdote: the appellation of *The Gentle Shepherd* long stuck by Grenville; he is mentioned by it in many of the writings on the stamp act, and in other pamphlets and political prints of the time.[9]

[9] *Memoirs of the Reign of King George the Third,* 1845, I. 251. *Cf. Parliamentary History* (1813), xv. 1307–1308. The sobriquet was acquired about March, 1763.

The history of the "old ditty" appears hitherto to have escaped research. It was attributed by Bartlett in his *Familiar Quotations* to Samuel Howard. Now Howard was an organist and composer, but apparently not a poet; and he neither wrote the words of nor (so far as I can ascertain) composed music for Walpole's "old ditty." In 1743 William Boyce "produced his best work, the serenata of 'Solomon,' the book of which was compiled from the Song of Solomon by Edward Moore, the author of 'Fables for the Female Sex.'" The following extract from Part I of "Solomon, a Serenata: Set to Music By Dr. Boyce," is copied from Moore's *Poems, Fables, and Plays,* London, 1756, p. 204:

RECITATIVE.

SHE. From the mountains, lo! he comes,
Breathing from his lips perfumes;
While zephyrs on his garments play,
And sweets through all the air convey.

AIR.

Tell me, lovely shepherd, where
Thou feed'st at noon thy fleecy care?
Direct me to the sweet retreat,
That guards thee from the mid-day heat:
Lest by the flocks I lonely stray,
Without a guide, and lose my way:
Where rest at noon, thy bleating care,
Gentle shepherd, tell me where?

See the sketches of Howard (1710–1782), Boyce (1710–1779), and Moore (1712–1757) in the *Dictionary of National Biography.* Other versions were set, both in England and in this country, and the words sometimes differ from those given above. Moore's serenata should not be confused with Allan Ramsay's *The Gentle Shepherd. A Scots Pastoral Comedy,* produced in 1725.

The Stamp Act received the royal assent on March 22, 1765, and was to go into effect on November first. A bill for its repeal was introduced in the House of Commons on February 22, 1766. In the *Public Advertiser* of March 3 appeared this satirical account of the effect on Grenville:

ON Saturday the 22d of last Month, a little after Two in the Morning, departed this transitory Life, the *Gentle Shepherd,* after a lingering Illness, which he bore with Resignation; . . . His Body is to be embalmed and carried to America, there to be burnt after the old Roman Custom, as it is supposed that the Americans are the fittest People to burn him *after* his Death, as they have done it so often *before.*

The repeal passed the House of Commons on March 4, the House of Lords on March 17, and received the royal assent on March 18. In the *Gazetteer* of March 20 it was stated that the previous evening a meeting had taken place to celebrate the repeal. In the *Public Advertiser* of the same date appeared the following:

WE hear, that the same Evening there was a solemn Funeral Procession to the Cocoa Tree,[10] which was hung with Black, upon the Death of the late Stamp Act. This Act, after being embalmed, was buried with all funeral Honors. The Chief Mourners were the Gentle Shepherd, Lord Gawkee, Bloomsbury Jack, Jemmy Twitcher, Lord Caricature, &c. The Favourite, Surly Bob, and Jefferies attended as *Mutes* upon this melancholy and *trying* Occasion. The Rev. Anti-Sejanus, who officiated, was so deeply affected, as to be hardly able to get thro' the Service. There being great Rejoicings and ringing of the Bells throughout the Town this Evening, it was judged proper to perform the Ceremony in the Dead of Night.

This affecting scene was made the subject of a print called "*The Repeal, Or the Funeral of Miss Ame-Stamp.*" It was stated in the *Public Advertiser* of March 18 that "The Print called The REPEAL will certainly be published this Day, at Two of the Clock, notwithstanding the many Endeavours

[10] "No. 64 [St. James's Street], 'The Cocoa Tree Private Club' was formerly the famous chocolate-house of the same name, known in Queen Anne's reign as the resort of the Tories and Jacobites, and then situated in Pall Mall" (H. B. Wheatley, *Round About Piccadilly and Pall Mall,* 1870, 158. *Cf.* Wheatley, *London Past and Present,* 1891, I. 439; H. C. Shelley, *Inns and Taverns of Old London,* 1909, 228–232; Stephens and Hawkins, *Catalogue,* IV. 180).

to prevent its Appearance. Price 1 s. Sold by M^r. Smith, at the Woolpack, Number 45, in Long Acre, near Drury-Lane; " and in the same paper of March 21 Mr. Smith, in view of the " extraordinary Demand for the Print . . . begs Leave of those who are pleased to honour him with their Commands to any large Quantities, that he may be indulged with as much Time as can possibly be allowed, in order to take off a proper Number to answer the Demand." Indeed, the print was so popular that it was at once pirated, and examples are known of no less than five different versions in addition to the original version.[11] The Boston Athenæum owns a printed " Explanatory Paper " (on a separate sheet) reading as follows:

[11] These versions are described in detail by Frederic G. Stephens and Edward Hawkins, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum* (1883), no. 4140, IV. 368–373. The original version was etched by Benjamin Wilson (1721–1788). " It was sold at a shilling, and brought him 100 *l.* in four days. On the fifth day it was pirated." (*Dictionary of National Biography,* under Wilson.)

The print was reproduced in 1896 by John Fiske, *American Revolution* (illustrated ed.), I. 27; in 1908 by Sydney G. Fisher, *Struggle for American Independence,* I. 110; and in 1910 by Ellen Chase, *Beginnings of the American Revolution* — but, curiously enough, none of these reproductions is of the original version, nor is the least hint given that more than one version of the print exists. Fiske says (p. xxiv) that his reproduction is " from an excessively rare print." There are at least six copies in the British Museum, seven copies in Boston libraries, and Stephens and Hawkins state that the work was " so popular and widely diffused that hundreds of impressions are still in existence and at least four copies of the design found acceptance from the public " (*Catalogue,* xxxvii).

In the following list, the letters are arbitrarily chosen by me for convenience. The references under A–F are to Stephens and Hawkins, *Catalogue.*

A	British Museum	iv. 368–371 (the original version)
B	" "	iv. 371–372
C	" "	iv. 372
D	" "	iv. 373
E	" "	iv. 373
F	" "	iv. 373
G	Massachusetts Historical Society.	Same as A
H	" " "	Same as C
I	" " "	Different from A–F, making a seventh version
J	Boston Athenæum.	Same as A
K	" "	Same as A, but plate badly worn
L	Boston Public Library.	Same as I
M	" " "	Same as C

The reproductions by Fiske, Fisher, and Miss Chase are so reduced in size as to make identification difficult; but all three are certainly of the later versions, those by Fiske and Miss Chase presumably of F.

An Account of a humourous Political PRINT, *called,* THE REPEAL; *which (in the Painters Phrase) may be called,* A Companion to the TOMB-STONE,[12] *a Print not long since published.*

THE Subject of this Print is *the Funeral of Miss* AME-STAMP, the favourite Child, and youngest Daughter, of the Honourable Mr. *George Stamp,* the well-known *Gentle Shepherd.* At one end of the Print stands the *Family Vault,* with a mutilated Inscription, signifying that "within it lie (it is to be hoped "never to rise again) the Remains of ..... Hearth Mon**, "..... Ship Mon**,.... Excise B***,..... Jew B***,..... "Gen**** Warrants, ... etc." On the Top of the Vault, are two Heads on Poles, like those on *Temple Bar,* marked on the Skull with the numbers 1715 and 1745. The Vault is supposed to be situated on the Side of the River, along the Strand, of which the Funeral Procession proceeds. The *Reverend* Mr. ANTI SEJANUS, that noted *Constitutionalist,* drawn to the Life, appears first, reading the Burial Service: After him follow those Two eminent Pillars of the Law, Sir *Bullface Doublefee* and Mr. *Alexander Scotsburn,* supporting Two Black Flags; on which are delineated the Stamps, with the *White Rose* and *Thistle* interweaved, with the old Motto of *Semper eadem*; to which is annexed a new Motto, consisting of those significant Words, *Three Farthings,* taken from the *Budget.* Beneath this Motto, as if meant to certify the Number of the despicable *Minority* fighting under these Banners, appear on one Flag the Figures 71, and on the other 122,[13] with a flying Label surrounding both, bearing these Words, *All of a* STAMP. Next appears the *sad Father* of the deceased Child, the Honourable Mr. *George Stamp* himself, with Grief and Despair pictured on his Countenance, carrying in his Arms the Infant's Coffin, on which is written *Miss* AME STAMP, born 1765, died 1766. Immediately after follows the Chief Mourner, *Sejanus*: Then his Grace of *Spitalfields* and Lord Gawkee: After these Jemmy Twitcher, with a Catch by way of Funeral Anthem; and by his Side his Friend and Partner Mr. *Falconer Donalson* of Halifax. At a little Distance, to close the Procession, are two worthy B****ps, Dr. *Sqirt,* and another Right Reverend Gentleman, who shall be nameless: And behind them lie, on this Side of the River, two huge Bales of returned Commodities, one marked *Stamps from America,* the other *Black Cloth from America.*

These *few* Mourners are separated from the joyful Scene that appears in the Back Ground, by the River *Thames,* in which are riding

[12] See Stephens and Hawkins, *Catalogue,* no. 4124, IV. 356–357.

[13] The vote in the House of Lords was 165 for and 71 against the repeal, and in the House of Commons 250 for and 122 against.

three First-rate Ships, called, THE ROCKINGHAM, THE GRAFTON, and THE CONWAY.[14] Along the Shore stand open Warehouses for the several Goods of our principal Manufacturing Towns, from which Cargoes are NOW shipping for *America:* Among these is a large Case, Containing *a Statue of Mr.* PITT,[15] which is heaving on board a Boat *Number* 250; and there is another Boat taking in Goods, nearer the First-rates, which is *numbered* 105; Numbers which will ever remain sacred to Liberty, and render the Memory of the triumphant MAJORITY, on *this Side* of the River, revered by our latest Posterity.

To be had of Mr. SMITH, at the *Woolpack,* N°. XLV. in *Long-Acre,* near *Drury-Lane.*

*** Proper Allowance will be made to Merchants and Captains who may want large Quantities for Exportation.[16]

All the persons mentioned in these skits can be identified. As already stated, the "Gentle Shepherd," also called "Stamp" and "Stamper," was George Grenville (1712–1770). "Lord Gawkee" was George Grenville's brother Richard Temple Grenville (1711–1779), afterwards Richard Gren-

[14] These ships were, of course, named for Charles Watson-Wentworth (1730–1782), second Marquis of Rockingham; Augustus Henry Fitzroy (1735–1811), third Duke of Grafton; and Henry Seymour Conway (1721–1795).

[15] Stephens and Hawkins were mistaken in supposing that "The case containing the statue of Mr. Pitt is doubtless concerned with that colossal statue by Wilton which was set up in Charles Town, South Carolina, by the Commons House of Assembly of that province" (*Catalogue,* IV. 370), for that statue was not ordered by South Carolina until May, 1766, and was not set up in Charleston until May, 1770. The statue ordered by New York in June, 1766, was not erected until September, 1770. *Cf. Magazine of American History,* VII. 67; VIII. 214–220. Those were, so far as I know, the only statues of Pitt erected in the American colonies. Hence the case depicted in the print was either prophetic, or perhaps was in allusion to the statue which Stephens and Hawkins state "was set up in the Exchange at Cork, 1764."

[16] The only allusion to the print I have noted in Boston papers is this advertisement in the *Boston Post Boy* of May 19, p. 3/3:

"To all true Lovers of LIBERTY.

"This is to give NOTICE that there may be had at Green & Russell's Printing-Office A humorous, patriotic Print, just arrived from LONDON, intitled "THE REPEAL": Representing the Funeral of Miss *AME-STAMP,* &c. &c. with an Explanatory Paper. Price *Three Shillings.* L.M.

"N.B. It is not doubted but this Print will be acceptable to every Friend of his Country as it exhibits a Variety of Figures characteristic of those who patronized the late Stamp-Act."

No doubt the "Explanatory Paper" referred to in the advertisement is the one printed in the text. It differs from an "Explanation" given by Stephens and Hawkins, *Catalogue,* IV. 369.

ville-Temple, Earl Temple. "Bloomsbury Jack," also called his "Grace of Spitalsfields," was John Russell (1710–1771), fourth Duke of Bedford, whose adherents were known as the "Bloomsbury Gang" in allusion to the Duke's immense estates in Bloomsbury, London. "Jemmy Twitcher" was John Montagu (1718–1792), fourth Earl of Sandwich.[17] "Lord Caricature"[18] was George Townshend (1724–1807), fourth Viscount and first Marquis Townshend. "The Favourite," so called from his alleged relations with the Princess of Wales (the mother of George III), was John Stuart (1713–1792), third Earl of Bute, who was also known as "Sejanus," and who often appeared under the representation of a "Jack Boot." "Surly Bob" was Robert Henley (1708?–1772), Viscount Henley and Earl of Northington, who was also known as "Tom Tilbury." "Jefferies" — the nickname suggested by George Jeffries (1648–1689), first Baron Jeffries — was William Murray (1705–1793), first Earl of Mansfield. "Anti Sejanus" was the Rev. Dr. James Scott (1733–1814),[19] who under that sobriquet wrote against Bute. "Sir Bullface Doublefee" was Sir Fletcher Norton (1716–1789), first Baron Grantley. "Alexander Scotsburn" was Alexander Wedderburn (1733–1805), first Baron Loughborough and first Earl of Rosslyn. "Mr. Falconer Donalson of Halifax"[20] was

[17] "Though the rank and fortune of Sandwich," wrote Walpole, "saved him from disgrace of that kind [fleeing from England for debt], he had little reason to exult in his machination [against John Wilkes]. He brought a stigma on himself that counterworked many of his own views and arts; and Churchill the poet has branded his name on this account with lasting colours. The public indignation went so far, that the Beggar's Opera being performed at Covent Garden Theatre soon after this event, the whole audience, when Macheath says, *'That Jemmy Twitcher should peach me, I own surprises me,'* burst out into an applause of application; and the nick-name of *Jemmy Twitcher* stuck by the Earl so as almost to occasion the disuse of his title" (*Memoirs*, I. 313–314). The episode occurred in November, 1763.

[18] George Townshend was so called because of his caricatures.

[19] By a curious error, Stephens and Hawkins persistently refer to him as "W. Scott."

[20] This sobriquet is involved. Mary Anne Faulkner, the niece and adopted daughter of the Dublin printer George Faulkner, was "a singer at the Drury Lane Theatre, and, deserted by a worthless husband, she became the governess of Halifax's daughter, and then his mistress, by whom he had two children" (*Dictionary of National Biography*, under Halifax). Her husband is variously called "Donalson" (as in the text) or "Donaldson," though the vowels are often, after the practice of that day, represented by asterisks. *Cf.* Stephens and Hawkins, *Catalogue*, no. 4355, IV. 586–587.

George Montagu Dunk (1716–1771), second Earl of Halifax of the third creation. "Dr. Sqirt" (presumably a misprint for "Squirt") was apparently Thomas Newton (1704–1782), Bishop of Bristol. The other "Right Reverend Gentleman, who shall be nameless" was William Warburton (1698–1779), Bishop of Gloucester.[21]

Eleven persons are depicted in the print. As to their identity, there is room for difference of opinion, but most of them can be identified with certainty. I would suggest, from left to right, the following: Scott, Wedderburn, Norton, George Grenville, Bute, Bedford, Temple, Halifax, Sandwich, Bishop Newton, Bishop Warburton.[22]

And thus, though perhaps by a somewhat too winding path, we are brought to the Book of America itself, which consists of four chapters. These I found in the *Gazetteer* in the first quarter of 1766: the first two chapters in the issue of January 24; the third chapter in the issue of January 26; and the fourth chapter in the issue of March 29. Possibly they appeared in other London papers as well.[23] Early in May the first three chapters were reprinted in Boston: (1) in the supplement to the *Boston Post Boy* of May 12; (2) in the supplement to the *Boston Gazette* of the same date; and (3) in a broadside. The fourth chapter was reprinted (1) in the supplement to the *Boston Gazette* of May 26, and (2) in the *Bos-*

[21] Possibly "Dr. Sqirt" was Warburton, not Newton. Besides Newton and Warburton, two other bishops have been suggested: James Johnson (1705–1774), Bishop of Worcester, and Samuel Squire (1713–1766), Bishop of St. Davids. But the names of Worcester and St. Davids are not among those who voted against the repeal of the Stamp Act, while "Thomas Bristol" and "W. Gloucester" twice (March 11 and 17) signed protests against the repeal and also voted against the repeal: see *Boston Evening Post*, June 9, 1766, supplement, p. 3/1, June 16, supplement, p. 1/3, June 23, p. 1/2; *Correct Copies Of the Two Protests against the Bill To Repeal the American Stamp Act, of Last Session. With Lists of the Speakers and Voters* (Paris, 1766), 14, 22, 24.

[22] These identifications refer to the original version only. Some versions have an engraved list of the persons represented, and in some copies a list of names has been inserted in ink. Each figure, except the two bishops, has a tag of some sort that identifies it with certainty.

Fiske thought that one of the persons was "probably" Lord Egremont. This, however, is an impossibility, since Sir Charles Wyndham (1710–1763), second Earl of Egremont, died August 21, 1763, while his son Sir George O'Brien Wyndham (1751–1837), who succeeded him as the third Earl, was a boy of less than fifteen when the Stamp Act was repealed.

[23] See p. 194, note 49, below.

ton News Letter of May 29. A careful examination of the four newspapers published in Boston during the first half of 1766 has failed to disclose a single reference to the Book of America other than the reprints of the skit itself; and elsewhere I have found only one allusion to it. In a sermon preached May 23, 1766, speaking of the disturbances and riots occasioned by the Stamp Act, the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew said:

> But as to any methods of opposition to that measure, on the part of the colonies, besides those of humble petitioning, and other strictly legal ones, it will not, I conclude, be supposed, that I appear *in this place* as an advocate for them, whatever the general sense of the colonists may be concerning this point. And I take for granted, that we are all perfectly agreed in condemning the riotous and fellonious proceedings of certain *men of Belial,* as they have been justly called, who had the effrontery to cloke their rapacious violences with the pretext of zeal for liberty; which is so far from being a new thing under the sun, that even Great Britain can furnish us with many, and much more flagrant examples of it.

And a footnote to the three words italicized gives the reference: " The Book of America, Chap. II. v. 13." [24]

The question of the authorship of the skit invites speculation, though to others is left the pastime of indulging in guesses. If the author was an Englishman, he was singularly well versed in colonial affairs. But perhaps he was one of the many Americans then living, either temporarily or permanently, in England. It is certain that an intimate knowledge of Massachusetts politics is displayed.

[24] *The Snare broken,* p. 7

The Book *of AMERICA.*[25]

CHAPTER I.

1. *The people murmur at the heavy tributes.* 10. *George the Treasurer confused thereat.* 17. *He resolves to tax America.* 19. *The Decree for the Stamp Tribute:* 25. *Stamp-masters appointed.* 26. *The number and names of them.*

AND it came to pass in the days of George the King, (who ruled over the children of Britain, and the children of Ireland; and over those who dwell in the Isles afar off, and on the coast of the Great Land across the mighty ocean of waters, even in America)

2. That when the war which he had waged against the Gaulities, and the Iberianites, was at an end,[26] that the People of his land were burthened with debts; and grievous were the tributes which they paid.

3. For albeit that in the war the mighty men of George the King had discomfited the enemies, both upon the land, and upon the

[25] The first three chapters are copied from the supplement to the *Boston Post Boy* of May 12, 1766, of which only two copies are known to be in existence, one owned by the Boston Public Library, the other by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin. Half a dozen or more copies of the supplement to the *Boston Gazette* of the same date are extant. Two copies only of the broadside are known: one is bound in a file of the *Boston News Letter* owned by the Library of Congress following the issue of May 1; the other is bound in a file of the same paper owned by the Boston Athenæum following the issue of May 8. Because its copy of the broadside was bound where it was, the officials of the Library of Congress reported that it was a supplement to the issue of the *Boston News Letter* of May 1, and it is so listed in *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, IX. 77. But it was an error so to list it. As stated at IX. 404–405: "The matter of supplements raises another difficult point. Many files of newspapers were formed years or even generations ago, and bound in with the newspapers themselves are copies of proclamations, declarations, poems, elegies, satirical skits, political pieces, and other documents of various kinds. Valuable and sometimes unique copies of documents have been preserved in this unexpected manner. But such documents are not supplements. It may be laid down as a safe rule that every genuine supplement of a newspaper has a heading or an imprint by which its identity can be established." If it is objected that this "safe rule" is arbitrary, the reply is that a rule must be arbitrary, or otherwise any extraneous document that chances to be bound in will be accepted as a supplement. The broadside in question has neither heading nor imprint, and so cannot be regarded as a supplement to a newspaper. With regard to the three forms of the first three chapters of the Book of America, see p. 193, below.

[26] The Treaty of Paris, between Great Britain, France, Spain, and Portugal, was concluded on February 10, 1763.

waters, and had taken from them many cities, and strong holds; yet the debts that they owed were manifold, and the burthen thereof lay heavy upon their shoulders;

4. Even as the yoke upon the neck of the oxen that men plough withall; and behold it galled them sore.

5. And they cried unto their Rulers, saying,

6. Behold now we have toiled in the heat of the day, and we have payed our Talents, and our Shekels without grumbling; yea, we have payed tribute for what we ate, and what we drank, and for the raiment wherewith we have been clad.

7. For the light of the Sun also did we pay,[27] and for the light of the candle wherewith we see in the night; and taxes have been multiplied upon us exceedingly.

8. What then remaineth unto us? and wherewith will ye find money to pay what we yet owe?

9. For we wot not that we had gained from the Gaulities and the Iberianites [27a] would have been rendered back unto them, and we left to go sorrowing all the day long.

10. ¶ Now when these words came unto George the Treasurer,[28] to him that had rule over the treasures of the King, he was exceeding sorrowful.

11. And he communed with his own heart; and he said in himself,

12. Behold now money must be raised, to pay the strong men of my Lord the King, and for his household, and to build ships to go down in the great waters, and for the common expences of my Lord the King.

13. Yea also and to pay unto those who open their mouths unto me and cry out incessantly, Give, Give.

14. And many of the valiant men who have fought, have still their hire with-held from them; and the constant tribute of the nation is scarce more than will pay the interest of what we owe to the men of the Bank, and to the men of the Seas in the South.

15. (For there were men in those days,[29] who were unmindful of the command of old, which saieth, " Thou shalt not lend upon usury to thy brother." Although, peradventure they looked upon their brethren of the state as strangers and cleaved to another command

[27] An allusion to " window-tax, a tax levied upon windows, imposed in 1695 and abolished in 1851 " (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

[27a] The words " the Iberianites " are run together, " theIberianites."

[28] George Grenville was Chancellor of the Exchequer from April 10, 1763, to July 10, 1765.

[29] The " a " in this word is set upside down.

of old, which saieth, "Unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury.")

16. Seeing therefore that these things are so, on what shall I lay tribute? Money I must have, and at home I cannot get it.

17. ¶ And America came into his mind, even the land across the great sea.

18. And he said, behold the Americans shall be taxed anew. Are they not the children of the children of the land? And the war with the Gaulites began amongst them. What then with-holdeth that they should pay toward the debt that is so heavy upon us.

19. ¶ And it came to pass, that on the third month, and on this twenty-second day of the month, that there went forth a Decree,[30]

20. That all the children of America should pay a certain tribute for a Mark to be placed on the papers that were to tell them the seasons of the year; and to tell what happeneth far and near in all the corners of the world; and on the writings upon lamb-skins.

21. That this tribute must be payed from the first day of the eleventh month, and therefrom for ever, by all the children of America, from that part called Florida even unto the Land New Found out, even of the children of Carolina in the South and Carolina in the North; of the children of the land of George, of the children of the land of the Virgin, of the children of the land of Mary, of the children of the land of the Wood of Penn, of the children of the lands of New-Jersey and New-York, and of the children of the Provinces of New England, even from the River of Hudson, northwards, unto the River of the Holy Cross; and of the children of New Scotia (which, being interpreted, is *darkness*.)

22. And of the children of [31] the Isles.

23. And the Mark for which this tribute was to be payed was called a STAMP, and a *Stamp* it is called unto this day.

24. Then many papers were stamped, and many lamb skins likewise, and they were shipped in ships to be sent unto the children of America.

25. ¶ And men were chosen and were appointed to go and sojourn there, and to sell these stamps unto the children of America for their money, and they departed.

26. ¶ And the number of these men were twenty, and they were called Stamp-masters.

[30] The Stamp Act became a law March 22 and went into effect November 1, 1765.

[31] This word is misprinted "ot." By "Isles" is of course meant the West Indies.

27. And the Stamp-masters were Collin, and George, and John, and a name which I heard not, and Andrew, and Augustus, and Jared, and James, and William, and another John, and Zacheriah, and one that was a man of war,[32] and Thomas, three more whose names I heard not, and Robert, and another John also, yea and another George, and Henry; even twenty men.[33]

[32] Col. George Mercer of Virginia.

[33] The following "*LIST of Persons appointed by Treasury Warrant Distributors of Stamps in America*" is taken from the *Boston Evening Post* of August 5, 1765, p. 3/2:

Colin Drummond, Esq; Quebec.
John Mackenzie, Esq; Montreal & Trois Riviers.
Archibald Hienshelwood, Esq; Nova Scotia.
George Meserve, Esq; New-Hampshire.
Andrew Oliver, Esq; Massachusetts-Bay.
Augustus Johnston, Esq; Rhode Island.
Jared Ingersoll, Esq; Connecticut.
James McEvers, Esq; New York.
William Coxe, Esq; New Jersey.
John Hughes, Esq; Pennsylvania.
Zachariah Hood, Esq; Maryland.
Colonel Mercer, Virginia.
Thomas Graham, Esq; East Florida.
Jacob Blackwell, Esq; West Florida.
—— Slater, Esq; the Attorney General, Bermudas.
—— Whitehead, Esq; Barbados.
Robert Seaman, Esq; Grenada.
—— Tucker, Esq; St. Christophers.
John Howell, Esq; Jamaica.

It will be observed that North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia are omitted, and that the list is otherwise defective. So far as I am aware, no complete list has hitherto been compiled. Hence I asked Miss Lucy Drucker of London to make a search in the Public Record Office. It appears that two kinds of officials were appointed — "Distributors of Stamps" and "Inspectors of Stamps." The names (as spelled in the original warrants) arranged for convenience in alphabetical order, with place and dates of appointment (the year in each case being 1765), follow.

Distributors of Stamps

Angus, George	Georgia	Aug. 10
Blackwell, Jacob	West Florida	May 1
Coxe, William	New Jersey	April 3
Drummond, Colin	Quebec	May 1
Graham, Thomas	East Florida	May 1
Hinchelwood, Archibald	Nova Scotia	June 13
Hood, Zacariah	Maryland	June 13
Houston, William	North Carolina	July 9

Howell, Jn°	Jamaica	June 13
Hughes, John	Pensilvania	April 3
Hughes, Jno.	3 Counties of Newcastle, Kent & Sussex on Delaware River, America	July 9
Ingersal, Jared	Connecticut	April 3
Johnston, Augustus	Rhode Island	April 3
Lloyd, Caleb	South Carolina	July 9
MacEvers, James	New York	May 1
Mackenzie, Jn°	Montreal & Trois Rivieres	May 1
Mercer, George	Virginia	May 27
Meserve, George	New Hampshire	April 3
Olivar, Andrew	Massachusetts Bay	April 3
Seaman, Robt	Grenada	May 1
Slater, ——	Island of Bermudas	June 13
Tuckett, Wm	Island St. Christopher's	June 13
Whitehead, William	Barbadoes	June 15

Inspectors of Stamps

Beaird, Chas	Leeward Islands ,	July 9
Burdett, Sir Charles, Bart.	Georgia, E. & W. Florida & Bahama Islands	Sept. 27
Crawford, Jn°	Barbadoes & Grenada Islands	July 9
Delancey, Peter	Montreal & Three Rivers	Aug. 16
Delancey, Peter	Revoking above & appointing him Inspector for Quebec, N. Hampshire & Nova Scotia	Sept. 10
Franklyn, Peter	Jamaica	July 9
Grenacre, Robert	New York, New Jersey, Pensilvania & Three Counties of Newcastle, Kent & Sussex on the Delaware River	July 9
Hunter, Adam	Maryland & Virginia (in place of Henry McCulloh)	Aug. 15
McCulloh, Henry	Maryland & Virginia	July 9
Saxby, George	South Carolina (cancelled)	June 13
Saxby, George	N° Carolina, S° Carolina & the Bermuda Islands	July 9
Warter, Robert	Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut & Rhode Island	July 9
Williams, Charles	Montreal & Three Rivers	Sept. 20

In addition, "William Ottley jun^{r}" was appointed September 27, 1765, to the "Leeward Island (excepting St. Christophers) superseding a former warrant to him for Antigua only made July 4," but the entry is crossed through and marked cancelled.

In several works on North Carolina (F. X. Martin, *History of North Carolina,* 1829, II. 211; J. H. Wheeler, *Historical Sketches of North Carolina,* 1851, 51; J. W. Moore, *History of North Carolina,* 1880, I. 92; and perhaps elsewhere) William Houston is wrongly called "James Houston." The full name of George Angus is now, I think, given for the first time. The full name of the Attorney General of Bermuda was John Slater: see *Acts of the Privy Council,* Colonial Series, IV. 768.

CHAPT. II.

1. *The Lamentations of the men of America on the Tribute.* 5. *They burn the images of the Stamp-men.* 13. *And do great violence.* 15. *Wise men chosen.* 17. *The Speech of Francis the Ruler.*

NOW tidings came to the men of America that the decree had gone forth for them to pay the Stamp tribute.

2. And they were greatly amazed thereat, and they cried with a loud voice, saying,

3. Now is fulfilled that which was spoken of the Prophet, " America shall howl; on all their heads shall be baldness, and every beard cut off.

4. In their streets they shall gird themselves with sac-cloth: on the tops of their houses, and in their streets, every one shall howl; weeping abundantly."

5. ¶ And many of the men of America waxed exceeding wroth, and they took unto them garments and stuffed them with stuffing, yea with filthy rags did they stuff them, and they fashioned them till they did represent Men.

6. And they called them the representations of Stamp-masters, and they hung them upon trees and gallows's,[33a] and they were mocked by men until evening when they were taken down and burned with fire.

7. And they burned also a Jack-Boot,[34] but what they meant by that is unknown unto [35] this day.

8. Yea and they made likewise a stuffed figure with horns to represent Satan; for they said, Go to, for surely Satan himself was the deviser of this tribute.

9. And in like manner did they act all over the whole land.

10. Nay, in many places, they arose and went unto the Stamp-masters that were come to sojourn amongst them, and to sell the Marked papers and lamb skins for their money.

11. Them the men of America surrounded, and great fear came upon them, and they resigned their places, and gave up the offices whereunto they were appointed.

12. Howbeit many of them ran away and appeared no more amongst the men of America.

13. ¶ Now sundry men of Belial, workers of evil, seeing that the

[33a] The final " s " in this word is perhaps italic.
[34] The Earl of Bute.
[35] This word is misprinted " uuto."

people raged exceedingly, joined with them and broke open houses and stole the effects thereof, and burned the furniture with fire.

14. But the men of America were offended thereat, and said, Lo, it is not we who have done this evil, but the children of Belial who have crept in amongst us.[36]

15. ¶ And the wise men among them said, let us choose men who are men of goodness, and let them assemble and consult together, and let them represent our complaints unto our Lord the King, and unto his wise men and his Councellors, and to the elders of the land of Britain; and they did so.

16. And these wise men were chosen to represent the whole of the children of America, and were appointed to meet on the first day of the tenth month at a certain place: even twenty and eight were chosen.[37]

17. ¶ But in the mean time Francis,[38] who ruled over a Great Province in the King's name, assembled together the Sanhedrim of that Province,[39] and he spoke unto them, saying,

18. Men and brethren! Behold I have called you together to consult with you; ye well know that the Decree for the Stamp tribute has been greatly opposed, and that much violence hath been done among you, that the ordinary authority is not sufficient to restrain it.

19. Listen, therefore, I pray, unto me, and ponder my words in your hearts.

20. I say not that the tribute is well or ill placed, but the Decree hath gone forth, and we must submit.

[36] See Jonathan Mayhew's remarks, quoted on p. 182, above.

[37] The circular letter sent out by the Massachusetts House of Representatives in June, 1765, was for a meeting in New York "on the first Tuesday in October next," which was October first, but it was not until October 7 that twenty-seven members actually met, namely, three from Massachusetts, two from Rhode Island, three from Connecticut, five from New York, three from New Jersey, three from Pennsylvania, two from Delaware, three from Maryland, and three from South Carolina. Hence only nine colonies were represented. See *Authentic Account of the Proceedings of the Congress held at New-York, In MDCCLXV, On the Subject of the American Stamp Act* (1767).

[38] Francis Bernard was Governor of Massachusetts from August 2, 1760, to August 1, 1769.

[39] The Massachusetts General Court that met in May, 1765, sat on the following days (inclusive): May 29 to June 25, September 25 to 27, October 23 to November 8, 1765, and January 15 to February 21, 1766. (*Cf.* Ford, "Bibliography of the Massachusetts House Journals," Colonial Society of Massachusetts, *Publications*, IV. 279–280.) For Bernard's speech on September 25 (*cf.* II. 18–26), the reply of the House on October 24 (*cf.* III. 3–21), and Bernard's speech on November 8, see the *House Journal* under those dates, 118–123, 131–138, 186–189, and the *Boston Evening Post* of September 30, October 28, and November 11.

21. For, alas! what availeth opposition to the will of the Decree when those who made it have power to establish the right thereof.

22. Now if you should deny that right, what do you but bring down the heavy vengeance of the Rulers of Britain upon you? and how can you abide in the day of their wrath?

23. Neither will your petition to our Lord the King avail, if you deny the power of his great council over you.

24. But while you refuse this tribute, the calamities that will fall upon you will be great; for without the marked papers and skins of lambs, your ships cannot come in nor go out of your cities, and the courts of justice will be shut, that if a man smiteth you or taketh your garment from you you cannot make him come before the Judges in the gates.

25. And now behold I advise you to restore unto those whose habitations have been torn down, and whose things have been destroyed, that which they have suffered from the violences of the men of Belial.

26.[40] And strive ye to quiet the minds of the people, that they may be obedient unto the tribute until such time as it shall be taken off."

27. And many of the wise men were displeased at that which Francis the Ruler had said unto them.

28. And they assembled together to prepare an answer unto him.

29. But behold the Ruler, hearing thereof, ordered them to separate[41] themselves until the 23d day of next month.

CHAPTER III.

1. *The elders meet again.* 3. *Their answer to Francis the Ruler.* 22. *The twenty-eight wise men assemble.* 23. *They request the King.* 25. *The men of America refuse to buy ought from the children of Britain.* 32. *The lamentations of the men of London at the tidings thereof.*

NOW in the tenth month, and on the twenty-third day of the month, the wise men assembled again, according to the command of Francis the Ruler.[42]

2. And they answered him, saying,

3. ¶ Behold, O Francis the Ruler, we have pondered in our hearts

[40] The number of this verse is misprinted "29."

[41] This word is misprinted "seperate."

[42] The House met on October 23, but its reply to Bernard was not presented until the 24th.

the words that thou spakest unto us on the twenty-fifth day of the last month.

4. And we should have answered unto thee before this day, hadst thou not commanded us to separate and go each man to his dwelling.

5. Think not that we are unmindful of the dangers of us, and our little ones, if we disobey this Decree.

6. Howbeit, we have not that thought, that this evil will be so great as thou fearest.

7. For if many men have refused to make use of the marked paper, and the marked lambs skins, are [43] we in fault? Behold, we have no power to compel the minds of men.

8. Nay, the Decree itself doth not force men to the use thereof, but only ordaineth, that those who shall be so minded, shall pay the tribute for the mark thereon.

9. Neither do we think, that we shall be unable to bring those who may smite us or take our garments from us before the rulers in the gates; for, behold, the Decree sayeth, that the papers for those matters shall not be marked.

10. We acknowledge also our duty to our Lord the King, and his rulers under him, and his councellors, and that it behoveth us not to spurn at the authority thereof; but we say, that when our forefathers crossed the mighty ocean of waters to come hither, it was under the faith of certain Decrees which the kings of the children of England granted unto them.

11. And behold they granted unto them, and to their children after them, yea and to their children's children for evermore.

12. That they should have their own Sanhedrim, in which they should be taxed,

13. Therefore, how can we give up the rights of our forefathers?

14. More especially as it appeareth unto us, that the wise men and the elders of Britain wot not that we are poor, and are unable to pay this form of tribute: seeing money is required of us, and we have not wherewithal to pay in gold or in silver.

15. Howbeit, had the elders of Britain demanded the whole of the sum of this tribute of us, and have given permission unto us to have payed in writings to our brethren in Britain, we would certainly have done so?

16. For we love our Lord the King:

17. Moreover, O Francis, the antient laws ordained, that when any man hath ought against his neighbour, that twelve upright men shall be chosen, to judge [44] between our Lord the King and his subject, and to judge between a man and his neighbour.

[43] This word is misprinted "nre." [44] This word is misprinted "iudge."

18. But now, behold, this Decree sayeth, that whosoever shall offend against this tribute, shall not be judged by twelve upright men,

19. But shall be judged by him that hath rule over the men of the sea:

20. How then can we keep the ways of our forefathers?

21. Neither can we restore to those, who have suffered from the men of Belial, lest, peradventure, in time to come, more of the children of riot should again do great violence, and say in their hearts, " The Sanhedrim of the province must repay it."

22. ¶ Now the wise men who were to represent the whole of the children of America, even the twenty and eight men, assembled together.

23. And they framed together a request unto our Lord [45] the King [46] and unto the Rulers and Elders of Britain, against this Tribute.[47]

24. And they sent it unto the Great City, even unto London.

25. ¶ But while those things were doing, it came to pass, that the men of America said one to another,

26. Behold now we have sheep and we have oxen and asses and horses, yea, and we have corn and wherewithall to eat and drink within ourselves;

27. And although we have not such cunning workmen to make us finer raiment, and such garments as we were wont to be clad with.

28. Nevertheless let us spin wool and make us cloth, that we may be covered, from our own flocks and herds.

29. And let us be content with the coarseness thereof:

30. And the merchants and those who did buy and sell agreed together,

31. That they would not send unto Britain for any thing that they should eat or should drink, or that they should put on their backs until the tribute for the Stamps should be taken off, and the decree revoked.

32. ¶ And when these tidings came to the men of London; to the merchants and traders thereof, and to the men cunning in working of wool, and of silk and of iron,

33. They were exceeding sorrowful; and they said one to another,

34. Lo! now we shall not gain wherewith to feed ourselves, nor our wives, nor our little ones, since the men of America will not buy of us.

[45] The words " our Lord " are run together, " ourLord."

[46] The words " the King " are run together, " theKing."

[47] The addresses to the King, the House of Lords, and the House of Commons are printed in *Authentic Account,* etc., 10–15, 15–18, 19–26.

35. And their clamour was exceeding great.[48]

[48] This verse is followed in all three forms (*Boston Post Boy, Boston Gazette,* and broadside) by a line (in larger type and stretching across the column) reading: "*The forgoing was from a London Paper.*"

It is of course well known that books and pamphlets issued here in the eighteenth century sometimes bore the imprint of two or more printers. Thus Jonathan Mayhew's *The Snare broken* has the imprint: "*BOSTON:* Printed and Sold by R. & S. DRAPER, in Newbury-Street; EDES & GILL, in Queen-Street; and T. & J. FLEET, in Cornhill. 1766." In which of the three offices was the sermon printed? Or was it printed partly in each office? So far as I am aware, this point has never been touched on, nor have I any positive opinion to offer: I merely raise the question.

The three forms in which the first three chapters of the Book of America appeared in Boston suggest another question, similar to though not exactly the same as the above. The same item or document — such as a proclamation, a speech, a letter, etc. — often appeared in two or three different newspapers, perhaps on the same day. Was such an item or document set in each newspaper office, or did the printers borrow from one another? The arrangement in columns of the three forms mentioned differs in each form, but the arrangement line by line is identical in all three forms. Furthermore, a minute collation of every word and letter and punctuation point seems to show that all three forms were printed from the same type. Disregarding broken letters, indistinct letters, the running together of words, and other minutiæ which are not conclusive, as they may be due to bad inking or careless pulling of proofs, the following peculiarities are found in the three forms. (The references are to chapter, verse, and line of the original.)

	Peculiarity	*Correction*
1:19 (heading)	*Tribute:*	Italic colon should be period
1: 2:2	Gaulities	Should be "Gaulites" (as in 1:18:3)
1: 9:1–2	Gaulities	Should be "Gaulites"
1:22:1	ot the Isles.	Should be "of the Isles."
2: 4:1–2	sac-cloth	Should be "sack-cloth"
2: 7:2	uuto	Should be "unto"
2:26:1	29	Should be "26"
2:29:2	seperate	Should be "separate" (as in 3:4:3)
3: 7:2	nre	Should be "are"
3:16:1	King:	Italic semi-colon should be period
3:17:4	iudge	Should be "judge" (as in 2:17:5, 2:18:3, 2:19:1)

Finally, the "a" in "days" (1:15:1) is set upside down. Here are now fewer than twelve misprints or peculiarities, each of which is found in all three forms. Is it likely that if each form was set in a different office, these coincidences could occur in all three forms? In short, is there any escape from the conclusion that all three forms were printed from the same type? But if so, was the printing done by Green & Russell, or by Edes & Gill, or (possibly) by R. & S. Draper? For though the broadside is certainly not a supplement to the *Boston News Letter* of either May 1 or May 8, yet conceivably it was printed by the Drapers as soon as the London paper containing the first three chapters was received in Boston — that is, before May 12.

This problem is submitted to the consideration of those interested in colonial typography.

From the C R A F T S M A N.[49]

L O N D O N, March 29.

The IVth CHAPTER of the BOOK of AMERICA.[50]

1. *The men of the cities assemble.* 3. *Their discourse to each other.* 11. *They petition the Grand Sanhedrim.* 14. *The lamentation of George the Treasurer.* 19. *News papers.* 22. *And hireling Scribes.* 25. *These Scribes write against taking off of the tribute.* 26. *The subject of their letters.* 32. *They prevail not.* 34. *But are answered.* 38. *The tribute taken off.* 39. *Great rejoicings thereat.* 41. *The song of the people.*

AFTER these things the men of London, and the men of Birmingham, and the men of the great cities and strong towns; even all who made cloth, and worked in iron and in steel, and in sundry metals, communed together;

2. And they met in the gates of their cities, and of their towns;

3. ¶ And they said unto each other, " Behold now the children of America are waxed strong; and they have not only opposed the men who were sent by *George* the *Treasurer* to collect the tribute on the marks which are called *stamps*;

[49] Of this paper little is known. It will not, of course, be confused with the famous *Craftsman* edited by Nicholas Amhurst (1697–1742), under the pseudonym of " Caleb D'Anvers of Gray's Inn," from December 5, 1726, to April 17, 1736.

The British Museum owns three issues (nos. 1639 [6136?], 6149, 6155) of *" The Craftsman; or Say's Weekly Journal,"* published in 1791. The *Tercentenary Handlist of English & Welsh Newspapers, Magazines & Reviews* (1920), 46, lists one issue (no. 1639) published in 1791. The Boston Athenæum owns eighteen stray issues running from March 5, 1774 (no. 813), to June 10, 1775 (no. 879). In the issue of Saturday, March 5, 1774, the title is, " The Craftsman; or SAY's Weekly Journal." And the colophon at the bottom of the fourth page reads: " LONDON: Printed by C. SAY, at the GAZETTEER Printing-Office, No. 10, Ave-Maria-Lane." Now March 29, 1766, was a Saturday. Hence it is safe to conclude that this was the *Craftsman* in which the fourth chapter of the Book of America appeared. It will be observed that the *Craftsman* was printed " at the GAZETTEER Printing-Office." Is it to be inferred that the *Craftsman* was a weekly edition of the *Gazetteer?* At all events, that fourth chapter was printed in both the *Gazetteer* and the *Craftsman* of March 29.

[50] The fourth chapter is copied from the supplement to the *Boston Gazette* of May 26, 1766. It is also printed in the *Boston News Letter* of May 29, where it has the same heading. The two versions are line for line identical, but present no peculiarities.

4. But they make unto themselves the wares wherewith we were wont to furnish them:

5. And they will buy no more of us unless this tribute is taken off:

6. And moreover, they cannot pay unto us the monies which they owe; and the loss is great unto us, and the burthen thereof exceeding grievous:

7. Neither can we give bread unto those who laboured for us; and behold they, and their wives, and their little ones, have not bread to eat.

8. What then shall we do? and wherewith shall we be comforted?

9. Shall we not petition our Lord the King, and his Princes, and the wise men of the nation, even the *Grand Sanhedrim* of the nation?

10. For we know that they are good and gracious, and will hearken to the voice of the people, who open their mouths and cry unto them for bread."

11. ¶ Then the men of London, and the men of the great cities, sat them down and wrote petitions.

12. And they sent men from amongst them, that were goodly men to look at; and they stood before the *Grand Sanhedrim:*

13. And they presented their petitions, and they were read, and days were appointed to consider them.

14. ¶ Now it came to pass, that while these things were doing, that *George* the *late Treasurer,* and those who had joined in laying the tribute on the *stamps,* were wroth and their countenances fell:

15. And they said in themselves, " If this tribute is taken off then *William* [51] the *late Scribe,* and those who are now in authority, and who have taken our places will be had in remembrance among men.

16. And we also shall be had in remembrance, but it will be with *evil remembrance indeed.*

17. For behold the people will say, It is *we* that have *cursed* the land; & it is *they* who have *blessed* it.

18. Therefore we must bestir ourselves like men, to oppose the taking off of the tribute, let whatsoever hap besides."

19. ¶ And in those days there were papers sold daily among the men of Britain, which declared those which were joined in marriage, those which were gathered unto their fathers, and those who had found favour in the eyes of the King and his rulers, and were exalted above their brethren.

20. And also of whatsoever was done in the land.

21. And these papers were called *news papers;* and all men read them.

[51] William Pitt.

22. ¶ And there were certain also Scribes who let themselves out to hire.

23. And one of the chief of these was a *Levite,* and his name was *Anti Sejanus.*

24. And these Scribes were hired to poison the minds of the people, and to cause them to set their faces against the men of *America* their brethren.

25. ¶ Then came *Anti Sejanus,* and *Pacificus,* and *Pro Patria,*[52] and sundry other *children of Belial,* and they wrote letters which were put into the news papers.

26. ¶ And they said in those letters, " Men and brethren! Behold the men of *America* are rich, and they are grown insolent being full of bread;

27. And they are not mindful of the days of old when they were poor, but they would withdraw themselves from under the wing of their mother *Britain.*

28. And they would establish themselves as a people, and suffer us to have no power over them.

29. Behold they have opposed the *edict* and they are become as *rebels.*

30. Wherefore then go we not forth with a strong hand, and force them unto obedience to us?

31. And if they are still murmuring, and shall still oppose our authority, why do we not send fire and sword into their land, and cut them off from the face of the earth?

32. ¶ And these *children of Belial* who dipped their pens for hire, and who would scatter plagues in wantonness and say, *This is sport.*

33. Even these men wrote still more. Yet they prevailed not.

34. ¶ For they were answered, " Lo the men of *America* are our brethren; they are the children of our forefathers; and shall we seek their bloods? If they are mistaken, shall we not pity them, and keep them obedient unto us through love?

35. For behold, it is a wise saying of old, That *many flies may be caught with a little honey; but with much vinegar ye can catch not one.*

36. Neither are they inclined to be a people of themselves, but wish to be yet under our wing."

37. And the counsel of these men prevailed; for the counsel of the hireling scribes was defeated; even as was the counsel of the wicked *Achitophel* in the days of *David* King of *Israel.*

[52] As already stated, " Anti Sejanus " was the Rev. Dr. James Scott. I can throw no light on " Pacificus " and " Pro Patria."

38. ¶ For behold, the *Grand Sanhedrim* took off the tribute from the People; and *George* THE GRACIOUS King of *Britain* assented thereto.

39. ¶ Then were great rejoicings made throughout the land; and fires were lighted up in the streets, and the people eat, drank, and were merry.

40. And they sang a new song, saying,

41. ¶ "Long live the King; let his name be glorious, and may his rule over us be happy.

42. And may the princes and the rulers of the land, and the wise men of the Lord the King, and all those who joined to take off this tribute, be blessed.

43. For they have listened unto the cries of the people, and have given ear to the voice of calamity; they have procured the payment of the debts of the merchants of this land, ease to the children of *America,* and labour and bread to the poor.

44. And the women shall sing their praises; and the little children shall lisp out, *Bless the King and his Sanhedrim.*

45. For we were desolate and distressed; our hammers and our shuttles were useless; for we gat no work: neither had we bread to eat for ourselves, nor our little ones.

46. But now we can work, rejoice, and be exceeding glad."

47. And there was peace in the land.

48. But to *Anti Sejanus* and the rest of the hirelings there was shame, and the scorn of all good men fell upon them, and their employers, so that their names were had in abomination.

MR. NORCROSS contributed the following letters:

THOMAS JEFFERSON TO JAMES BROWN

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 4, 1792.

DEAR SIR, — According to the permission in your letter which I received at Monticello, I drew on you about a fortnight ago in favor of Messrs Clow & co. for two hundred dollars, and have drawn on you to day in favor of the revd. Matthew Maury for 166⅔ Doll. and in favor of John Garland Jefferson for seventy five Dollars. these last orders will probably be presented to you towards the latter part of this month.

I expect that Colo. Bell has forwarded to your care a box of books and cask of hams for me. I will ask the favor of your attention to send them here before the ice sets in, consequently immediately.

I have received the most pressing instances to encourage the sending flour to Marseilles, where and in all the Southern parts of France, and in Italy there is likely to be great distress. The prospect is such that the Mayor and municipality of Marseilles have written a letter to the President of the U. S. praying his interference, and promising to sollicit a naval protection from the National assembly for our vessels from the streights to Marseilles and back again. these papers will be published in the gazettes of this week for the information of the merchants. I am with great esteem, Dear Sir, your friend and servt.

TH. JEFFERSON.

FROM JAMES MONROE

GREAT CUMBERLAND PLACE, 12
Apr. 25. 1805.

SIR, — It being represented to me in a manner to entitle it to particular attention, that the American Schooner *Anna,* Anthony Laporte master, belonging to the port of N. Orleans was lately taken by the *Minerva* privateer, John Stewart commandr. within the jurisdiction of the U States, being about one and half miles from the mouth of the Mississippi, it becomes my duty to see that that fact be fully investigated that the party injured may have due advantage of it. It appears that the cause is before the court of admiralty. I have therefore to request that you will instruct suitable council to bring the point before the court, not doubting be its merits in other respects what they may, with which I am unacquainted, that the court will not hesitate, should it appear that the territory of the U States has been violated, to order immediate restitution of the vessel to the owner, with suitable damages for the sugars and detention. I am, sir, with great respect your very obt. servant,

JAS MONROE.

WASHINGTON, March 18, 1812.

MY DEAR SIR, — I have intended sometime past to write fully on the subject of your last letter, but really I have not been able to do it. I never had but one feeling towards you which was that of sincere friendship, or sentiment but that of confidence. In the late affair my object was to bring you into the service of the country, in a manner the most honorable to yourself as well as to it; and this would have been practicable had a reference not been deemed necessary to the representative. and might have been afterwards, had I

ventured to bring you before it, after the example of other. but that I would not do. after that reference, the aff[ai]r became so involved, that I gave it up, as soon as I received your letter. Any effort which I might have made, seemed doubtful as to its consequence, and I thought it more respectful to you, as well as consonant to your principles, which led you on patriotic motives to be willing and ready to serve, rather than to be anxious for it, to withdraw you from the scene. Your own views therefore have only been inferred from the part which I have acted in your behalf, which has been marked by the most delicate regard to your feelings. Should a war actually take place and you be disposed to make a campaign in Canada, I will do every thing in my power, to promote your views, and to place you on the most honorable ground, with the commander of the expedition, and if possible in an eligible station. Of this however we shall hereafter have time & opportunity to confer.

I send you a paper, which contains an important communication lately made to Congress by the President. Mr. Pinkney and I think the documents unquestionably authentic. We are acquainted with Lord Liverpool's hand writing, and believe the document signed with his name to have been signed by him. I am sincerely your friend,

Jas Monroe.

Mr. Wolkins read a paper on

Two Washington Miniatures

In the Old South Meeting-house, Boston, there was occasion recently to re-label and re-catalogue an enamel portrait in miniature of George Washington, an item that has been exhibited there for a long period of years and apparently by common consent attributed to Henry Bone, R. A.,[1] an artist of high rank as an enamellist on copper. There has been a certain embarrassment over the initials " W. B.," plainly marked, with the date " 1796," on the left side of the portrait, but the history of the miniature seemed well authenticated, and an investigation through ordinary channels disclosed no evidence to the contrary. The miniature therefore was again displayed as the work of " Henry Bone, R. A., Enamel-Painter to George III," with a legend accounting for its ownership in this country and purporting to explain the initials " W. B."

[1] (1755–1834), R. A., 1811.

This is the same enamel portrait that was the subject of remarks in the *Proceedings* of this Society, April 28, 1870, the artist then being described as "W. Bone (enameller on copper to George III)." There the matter seems to have rested until in 1891, John Fiske, preparing his work on *The American Revolution,* and desiring to dedicate it to Mrs. Mary Hemenway, was attracted to this very pleasing portrayal of Washington, and chose a facsimile engraving of it for the frontispiece of his first volume. To the Preface of the illustrated edition Fiske added the following:

> The portrait of Washington prefixed to this volume is now engraved, I believe, for the first time. It is from a miniature enamelled on copper by Henry Bone, R. A., an artist preëminent for skill in such work. Bone appears to have followed an original crayon sketch of Washington made in 1796 by William Birch, to whom he has given credit by putting his initials, W. B., on the miniature. This has given rise to an error; the initials have been mistaken for those of Bone himself, who has thus been wrongly spoken of as "William" Bone. The miniature was made for a family in England. After some years this family became straitened in circumstances, and the miniature was bought by George Peabody, who gave it to a lady in London interested in such things. By 1870 this lady in turn became desirous of obtaining its value, and a communication upon the subject was published in the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society for April of that year. It has since then come into the hands of Mrs. Hemenway of Boston, its present owner.

Further, someone on behalf of the publishers, caused the engraving to be marked, "H. Bone, Pinx."

John Fiske was an historian of acknowledged standing, and the curators of the historical relics in the Old South Meeting-house felt they were sustained in bringing to the notice of visitors a particularly delicate reproduction of a Stuart Washington by an enamellist so prominent as Henry Bone. The letters "W. B." were often troublesome; the assertion that Henry Bone followed a sketch by William Birch and for that reason used William Birch's initials was at times considered hardly more than surmise; but John Fiske had lent it the weight of his opinion, and apparently there was no alternative but to accept it.

A few months ago Mr. Augustus Hemenway, the present owner of the miniature, happened in conversation to mention it to Mr. Edward R. Warren who for many years has devoted himself to objects of art and is keenly appreciative of portrait enamelling as produced by artists of the Washington era. Mr. Warren at once recalled his correspondence in 1898–99, now more than thirty years ago, with Mr. Henry Buckley of London, a friend who shared his interest in Washington miniatures, and through whom he had purchased for his own collection a larger but not less beautiful miniature that in detail, coloring, background, and other characteristics can be minutely compared with Mr. Hemenway's miniature, even to the initials "W. B."

Mr. Warren very graciously laid before the Old South curator the letters exchanged with Mr. Buckley, and because this second miniature adds something to our knowledge of the one mentioned here in 1870, it seems appropriate, with Mr. Warren's permission, to include the parts of the letters that bear upon the two pieces.

In Mr. Buckley's letter to Mr. Warren, October 22, 1898, occurs this striking paragraph:

> When will you come over. There are treasures yet to be picked up. What do you say to my sailor nephew who knows nothing of art picking up this month for 1/6 an enamel of George Washington a signed and dated enamel by Bone one of England's greatest enamellers at the commencement of the present century, a work that ought to be in the New York Museum — grand, absolutely perfect. please cable the date you will sail to pursue the search for a companion one of Martha W.

Parenthetically, it is of some interest that here is another miniature that is attributed to Bone.

And again, December 11, 1898, Mr. Buckley wrote:

> I duly received your letter about the Washington enamel and I have bought it for you, altho' I am not quite sure that you meant me to go so far, but I am not anxious, because if you do not like to keep it (which you will) I am sure you can easily sell it for double what it cost you. I have paid my nephew £10 for it which is the amount Rochelle Thomas, a London dealer, offered him for it and which by my advice he refused, but he is quite willing that you

should have it at that figure. How do you wish me to send it to you? Would not the better plan be for you to come over and fetch it?

Mr. Warren's letter, February 17, 1899, covers the ground so accurately that the full text is given:

BOSTON, MASS., February 17th, 1899.

MY DEAR MR. BUCKLEY: — The enamel arrived safely and exceeds my expectations. It is certainly a very beautiful portrait of Washington and an exceedingly fine specimen of early English enamel on copper. I am delighted to have it, and I want to thank you again very much for getting it for me. I should have written sooner had I not waited to conclude some investigations which I have been making in regard to it and also to compare it with a similar miniature which came to this country some years ago and which belongs to the Hemenway estate in Boston.

I am going to submit to you now all that I know so far and then should like to know what conclusion you arrive at as to the artist who painted the miniature. In the first place, you write me that it is an example of Henry Bone's work, or I rather infer you mean Henry, since he was the greatest enamelist of that period, and I question whether from all I learn, his son William Bone [2] was capable of such fine work. This enamel coming to America at this late day throws new light upon a question which has been the result of considerable discussion and investigation ever since 1870. The similar enamel to which I refer was brought from London in 1870, and a letter relating to it was communicated to the Massachusetts Historical Society at that time by President Eliot of Harvard College. It belonged then to a dealer in London, or rather, was being sold by its present owner to this dealer. The following is an extract from the *Proceedings* of the Society:

" This enamel of General Washington was given me by Mr. Peabody. Its history is this: It was done by W. Bone, (enameler on copper to George III.), who carried the art to perfection. Since his death the art has become extinct. It was taken from a sketch of Washington a few years before his death, and is the likeness of a much older man than any of the few portraits in existence, and the date, 1796, which, with the artist's initials ' W.B.,' to be seen on the left side of the picture, shows that it was enamelled but three years before his death, which took place in 1799. Formerly it was

[2] There was a son, Henry Pierce Bone (1779–1855), who was also an enamellist.

in a small rosewood frame on the back of which is the artist's full name. This is still in my possession. Mr. Peabody had it removed from the frame and placed in this present simple but handsome gold setting, which he considered emblematical of the original. Mr. Biden, in Cheapside, was the goldsmith employed.

" The picture was executed for a family in England, and the member into whose possession it passed, being in need of money, brought it to Mr. Peabody, knowing his interest in all things connected with the history of the United States. He bought and gave it to me in 1859. He always alluded to it in some way whenever I saw him, for he considered it of great value."

A photograph of the enamel portrait was also exhibited and in connection with it the president presented to the Society a print of an original miniature of Washington by William Birch, in the possession of Charles G. Barney, Esq. The resemblance between the two portraits would seem to leave little doubt that the enamel of Bone was taken from the miniature of Birch." [3]

This letter above quoted was from Margaret McIlvaine Messer, who was apparently its last owner in England. She states in another letter that it was given to her by Mr. George Peabody as the result of a generally expressed opinion that her father was the best likeness of Washington in existence.

Copy of letter from John Biden, 37 Cheapside, London, July 22nd, 1859:

" Dear Sir: May I take the liberty of offering an opinion on the fine enamel herewith. It is one of W. Bone having date on it 1796. He was the celebrated enamel painter of the reign of George III. His works were all highly valued and of first rate talent, and in fact he brought enamel painting on copper which is indestructible to the highest perfection in this country. Irrespective of the excellent likeness and other associations, it is valuable as a work of first rate character in a branch of the arts now not to be obtained, for Bone has no successor. Dear sir,

Yours respectfully,
JOHN BIDEN.

G. Peabody, Esq."

Question: Was William Bone a celebrated enamelist, and have not the initials W.B. caused a confusion between Henry Bone and William Bone?

In April, 1891, R. J. Herbert, 31 Holborn Viaduct, London, E. C., wrote to A. S. Watt, the agent of Houghton, Mifflin & Co., the Boston

[3] 1 *Proceedings*, XI. 292.

publishers, concerning this Hemenway enamel. He was the dealer through whom it was sent to Boston and sold to W. J. Knowlton, who in turn sold it to Mrs. Augustus Hemenway. He also affirms that it was by William Bone, not even expressing the slightest doubt of it. All this investigation was brought about by John Fiske, the historian, wishing to use a reproduction of the portrait as a frontispiece to his *The American Revolution,* and he was very anxious that if possible its author should be authenticated beyond any doubt. Mr. Winthrop Scudder went to no end of trouble in the matter, and after the investigation was over, the conclusion which was arrived at was, that the enamel was really done by Henry Bone from a portrait drawn by William Birch,[4] but that out of courtesy to Birch, and owing to his extreme modesty, which seems to have been one of Bone's marked characteristics, he signed the enamel " W.B." instead of using his own initials. To me this seems very improbable. William Birch seems to have been an artist of some repute as well as an enamelist. William Dunlap [5] in his *History of the* [*Rise and Progress of the*] *Arts of Design in the United States,* Vol. 1, page 432, states the following:

" William Birch came to America in 1794. He was born in Warwick, England. He was an enamel painter and settled in Philadelphia. I remember seeing a miniature of Washington executed by him in enamel, which I thought very beautiful and very like Trott's copy from Stuart's original picture. My impression is that it was copied from Trott. Birch could design."

Mr. John Fiske gave the matter his personal attention, and after consulting all of the authorities he could find which bore upon the subject, he arrived at the conclusion that the enamel was done by Henry Bone. He found out that Birch had made a portrait of George Washington about 1796, and believes that it was from this original crayon by Birch that Bone made his portrait. Among other things Mr. Fiske writes, " I think every link should be verified as far as possible, and hope we may take time enough to get answers from London about Herbert, &c. . . . Very likely this portrait will be generally remarked upon and noticed, and we ought to be able to forestal criticism as much as posible." In spite of this conservative attitude what do they do but go ahead and have an engraving made of the enamel, and basing their conclusions solely upon what is herein contained, they have dared, as you will see from the enclosed engraving, to state " H. Bone, Pinx."

It seems to me rather daring, and personally I really believe that both this enamel and the one which you sent me were both made by

[4] William Russell Birch (1755–1834). [5] (1766–1839.)

William Birch. I should be very glad to have your opinion. I mean to bring the matter up before the Massachusetts Historical Society in the near future.

Will you kindly return the photograph which Mr. Scudder has loaned to me? The comparison of these two enamels was extremely interesting. Almost unquestionably they were done by the same artist. The similarity of treatment was remarkable, in line, the stippling, in color especially in the background. The signatures W.B. 1800 and W.B. 1796 are almost identical; even having been placed in the same relative positions. I regret to say that I had to pay 45% duty on this Washington treasure dating back almost one hundred years. I think I have covered pretty well the whole ground, and I shall await with interest your opinions on the subject, and should be very glad if you can give us any new light. I should consider the opinion of somebody who is an authority on enamels of the greatest importance in settling the matter. Perhaps you or somebody at the British Museum may be sufficiently experienced in enamel to warrant you in stating authoritatively that such an example must have been the work of Henry Bone for the simple reason that he alone was capable of such results. I would even be willing to send my enamel back to England to be submitted to authorities if I thought it could settle the matter or else some time perhaps I will take it over with me. You may keep the enclosed engraving if you like, as I have others.

Please excuse this very long letter, but I think it will interest you.

With kindest regards to you all, believe me, as always, Very sincerely yours.

EDWARD R. WARREN.

It may be concluded that an ordinary layman's examination confirms the impression Mr. Warren was at such pains to verify.

The files of the Society have been searched for the original papers mentioned in the *Proceedings* for April 28, 1870, but all that have come to light are a photograph by J. Brown, London, obviously the photograph that had been sent to Boston in advance of the enamel that Mrs. Hemenway later purchased, and a print of an engraving marked "Eng^{d}. by H. B. Hall, N. Y., from an Original Miniature by W^{m}. Birch in the Possession of Cha^{s}. G. Barney, Esq^{r}." The print is of course the one presented by Robert C. Winthrop, and we can see for ourselves that the print and the miniature not only show "resem-

blance," but in drawing almost exactly coincide. But yet the Committee charged with publishing the *Proceedings* accepted the view that the 1796 enamel was in fact the work of one W. Bone, whose name does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. It appears from Mr. Warren's letter that John Fiske and Winthrop Scudder had access to more material than is in the Society's cabinet, but in the absence of the originals we may conclude with reasonable assurance the quotations are accurate. The statement of Dunlap may be regarded as important: his work was published in 1834, when he was sixty-eight years old; he had been an associate of Gilbert Stuart and of Trott; he was vice-president of the National Academy; and he knew Birch and his work.

In Anne Hollingsworth Wharton, "Heirlooms in Miniatures," Philadelphia, 1898, an essay praised by Theodore Bolton who is himself regarded as an accomplished student of miniatures, we read: "An enamel by [Birch] of Joseph Welsh is preserved in the family, and is signed 'W. B.'"[6] So is signed the "enamel on copper" of Washington once owned by Mr. C. Allen Munn, and now supposedly in the Metropolitan Museum in New York as a part of Mr. Munn's great collection.[7] There are seven other miniatures in Bolton's list, among them the portrait on copper, 1797, that was owned by Charles G. Barney of Richmond, Va., in 1881, undoubtedly the gentleman referred to in 1870 by Robert C. Winthrop.

Harry R. Wehle in *American Miniatures 1730–1850* writes of Birch's reputation for skilful enamel portraits of people of varying importance, especially Lafayette and Washington, portraits of whom have always found a ready sale. Wehle includes a plate of a portrait miniature of Lafayette by Birch, but the illustration discloses no signature. Theodore Bolton[8] mentions Birch with Miles, Sharpless, and Field as an Englishman who painted in this country with success, although he makes it clear that the four entitled to highest rank among painters of miniatures in the period are Malbone, Fraser, Trott, and Field. Birch, he writes, exhibited forty-one minia-

[6] P. 148.

[7] Theodore Bolton, *Early American Portrait Painters in Miniature*, New York, 1921, 11.

[8] Bolton, viii.

tures at the Royal Academy during 1781 and 1782, respectively fourteen and eighteen years before the two pieces we are discussing. "Sir Joshua Reynolds employed him to make miniature copies of his paintings, and Birch's interest in the technical side of his art was such that he discovered a red brown enamel that afterwards he often used in the backgrounds of his miniatures. For this discovery he received, in 1785, a medal from the Society of Arts." [9]

The assertion of Margaret McIlvaine Messer that on the back of a small rosewood frame — as she said "still in my possession" — is the artist's full name, and the bland declarations by two London dealers, one in 1859 to George Peabody and the other in 1891 to Houghton, Mifflin & Company's agent, that William Bone was the artist of the Hemenway enamel, have not been explained away; perhaps we may dismiss them as mere "conversation" on the part of people anxious either to make or to justify a sale, but the red brown enamel background in both the Hemenway and the Warren enamels, stippled and shaded in much the same manner, bearing in mind the two productions were four years apart, is perhaps the bit of evidence that definitely turns the scale. Edmund C. Tarbell takes this view and it seems reasonably well established that both pieces are the work of one artist and that the artist was William Birch.

Birch settled in Philadelphia in 1794, and there, as he wrote in his autobiography: "Mr. Bingham was my first employer in America, to instruct his two daughters . . . attended by one of their friends. I then built me a furnace, painted a full-size picture in enamel of Mr. Bingham and a smaller one of Mrs. Bingham." Shortly after, he met with great success, gave up the lessons, painted about sixty enamel copies after Stuart's Washington besides original work in miniature, and engraved two volumes of landscapes and city scenes after drawings by various artists."

It is no discredit to attribute to William Birch the delicate flesh tones and the finely wrought effects of the enamel that Mrs. Hemenway bought and that John Fiske used in his his-

[9] Bolton, 10–11.

tory. And Mr. Warren has done us a service by pointing out the probable mistake.[10]

[10] The William R. Birch "Autobiography" was owned by Charles Henry Hart of Philadelphia. In *Salons, Colonial and Republican,* Philadelphia, 1900, 211–12, Anne Hollingsworth Wharton cites the *Autobiography* for an account of Birch's first interview with Washington. "When he was sitting to Stuart, he told him he had heard there was another Artist of merit from London, naming myself, that he would sit to me if I chose. Mr. Stuart brought me the message. I thanked Mr. Stuart, and told him that as he had painted his picture, it would be a mark of the highest imposition to trouble the Gen'l to sit to me, but that when I had copied his Picture of him in enamel, which was my forte, that I would show it to the Gen., and thank him for his kind offer, which when I had done, I waited upon the Gen'l with a note. . . . When I saw the Gen'l I put the picture into his hand, he looked at it steadfastly, but from a peculiarity of solid habit in his manner, left me to look at him as solid, till feeling myself awkward, I begun the history of Enamel Painting, which by the time I got through, he complimented me upon the beauty of my work. I then told him how much we was beholding to Mr. Stuart for the correctness of his likeness."

Letters to Governor John A. Andrew in March, 1861.

From the Andrew Manuscripts in the Society's Collection

John E. Lodge[1] to John A. Andrew

Tuesday. [March, 1861.]

My dear Sir, — I have called to show you a letter from our friend "Sumner." If any thing is done about the Mission to Eng'd for him it sh'd be done at once — probably by Telegraph only, could it be reached in time to do any good.

If Mr. Wilson knew, at once, that Massachusetts expected, or hoped for this office for her Senator, I think there is no doubt but it w'd at once be offered to Mr. Sumner. He (S.) does not feel that he ought to say any thing about it — that the offer sh'd come without any interference on his part.

No one can for a Moment doubt that Mass'tts should have this Compliment paid to her — it is her due — and I confess I shall feel humiliated if the offer is not made, even if Mr. Sumner should reject it.

I pray you to pardon me for the liberty I am taking in thus trespassing on your time.

With great respect Yr Obdt. St, John E. Lodge.

George Sumner[2] to John A. Andrew

Private. [On the Governor's letter paper.]

Tuesday. A.M. [March, 1861.]

My dear Gov'r, — I have news from Washington! The thing may be done, if pressed DIRECTLY on the President.

No one can do this so well as you! Therefore what I suggested yesterday had better be done today before 6.30 P.M. viz.

Send the strongest possible letter to Lincoln saying

1° (*me judice*) that it would have been written before had there seemed any *doubt* that the place would be offered — but that the rumors of other names make action necessary.

2° urging that the State will be disappointed.

[1] John Ellerton Lodge, merchant of Boston and father of Senator Lodge.

[2] Brother of Senator Charles Sumner.

3° that the faithful Republicans of the N.W. Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota (so important to keep faithful) will be disappointed and *enraged* (this is true; they look upon C[harles] as the *founder* of the party).

4° that the public service demands his presence there; this being *no time* to send men who require a year or more to learn the ropes and get a basis of action. Ever yours,

G. S.

ALBERT G. BROWNE, JR.,[3] TO JOHN A. ANDREW

Private. WASHINGTON, Thursday evening [March 28, 1861.]

DEAR GOVERNOR, — We saved Mr. *Jellison* today after an ugly contest for the nomination with *Rowland Ellis,* to whom *McLellan* tells me *Wilson* had promised the office (N. B. McLellan is much disappointed at Ellis's loss), and with *H. Hamlin,* (the cousin of the Vice President,) whom Chase wanted to appoint.

Last night (Sumner having sent Jellison's name to Chase in the morning) — Last night, about 10 3/4 o'clock, the Ass't Secretary of the Treasury came up to Sumner's room to say that Mr. Chase, after examining the papers himself, could not coincide with Sumner's recommendation of Jellison, and inclined to name Hamlin and wanted to see Sumner on the subject. Willard Phillips and I happened to be at Sumner's room, and Sumner was quite emphatic to Harrington, the Asst Secretary, on the subject, and appealed to us and we backed him; and the result is that *this* A.M. Jellison was nominated. But it was *a close squeeze,* and I was glad to be on hand.

It is a matter of congratulation today AMONG SEWARD'S OPPONENTS that he has suffered the first serious defeat which he has yet experienced in respect to any appointment, in the instance of Schurz, against whom for a European mission he had made an especial point.

The *inside* talk about an extra session is that it will not be called for the reason that Jeff Davis has given the administration to understand that he would consider the calling of it a *casus belli,* and in pursuance of the compromising policy no such *casus* will be willingly afforded by the administration, under its present guidance.

I am glad to see that you keep up the military preparation in

[3] Governor Andrew's private secretary.

Massachusetts for from everything I have seen and heard (and my eyes and ears have been very busy during the fortnight), I *sincerely* believe that the chances are that Virginia will go out *and take the capital with her; that as matters stand the chances are that the next Congress of the U. S. will not meet in Washington.*

Willard Phillips filed his bond and received his commission as Collector of Salem today, and his first official act in that capacity has been to request the dismissal of *Charles H. Manning* from the office of Weigher and Gauger — a citizen, who you may remember, in his capacity of Captain of an Artillery Company at Salem addressed a saucy letter to you concerning General Order No. 4.

Hanscom in the N. Y. Herald of yesterday paid his compliments to me by some blackguardism, having previously intimated his intention to do so unless I would agree to pay him blackmail.

There is serious apprehension felt and privately expressed concerning the loyalty of my old Utah friend, *Gen Albert S. Johnston,* who now commands the Department of California and the Pacific Coast. He has been for very many years an intimate friend of Jeff Davis. I can remember many evidences of it during my campaigns in Utah. Do not be surprised at any news of treason, however extraordinary, which you may hear from Southern California as well as from Arizona and New Mexico.

Capt. Holmes tells me tonight that he has heard that a Secretary for New Mexico has been pitched upon, named Nelson and of New York. If there is any truth in the rumor at all I think it must refer to a Mr Nelson of St Louis who, I wrote to you was pressed by Frank Blair for that position. In my talk with Stearns while he was here I thought he felt regret that a different programme had not been prepared for the N. M. appointments which should have combined a *variety of interests* and have brought a combination of influence to bear from various parts of the country in favor of a common programme of names.

The foreign appointments made today are *bad* in many respects. Geo G. Fogg, we know is a good fellow, but he is not fitted at all for a *diplomatic* position, and *Fay* should never have been superseded. He is the best informed man on European history and diplomacy and has the most valuable and intimate range of diplomatic social acquaintance of all the representatives of the U. S. abroad, and he is an anti-slavery man of long standing — from conviction.

As to the mission to the Hague it is to my mind shameful that

Pike should be preferred to *Motley, the historian,* and Motley too is nearer an ABOLITIONIST than either of us are.

Harvey, who is appointed to Portugal, is a gentleman in manners, is one of the Washington correspondents of the N. Y. Tribune, is the correspondent and part proprietor of the Philadelphia North American, and has made a fortune here in a manner that perhaps would not bear too close inspection. His appointment adds *absolutely nothing* to us. It ought to have gone to the Border States.

Nothing yet definitely determined about the Boston P. O. Palfrey telegraphed to Sumner today that he would be willing to *move* immediately to Boston and RESIDE there, if necessary.

Rice advises Phelps, as I believe I wrote to you some days ago.

W. P. Phillips will start back tomorrow night and you may learn from him things more at large than I can write.

C. F. Adams arrived this A.M. and is now shut up with Sumner, and has been ever since 8 o'clock It is now after 10. He is much worried about the man who has been appointed his Secretary of Legation, and will get rid of him if possible.

I wrote to you that Pennington would be defeated for Secretary of Legation to Paris; but the Senate didn't have the spunk to do it. The vote was 24 to 12. The old gentleman, his father, came on and lobbied the son through, blackguard though he is.

On the question of Schurz's confirmation today, all the venerables among the Republicans voted *No*; for instance, Collamer. Douglas, after voting Aye, rose and said he felt obliged to change his vote when he reflected that Schurz had libelled the Declaration of Independence!! which led to quite an animated debate, the result of which was that Douglas said on the whole he would let his vote stand as it was *Aye.*

Wilson expresses an intention to return to Boston at the beginning of next week.

I sat in the gallery during the last hour of the session of the Senate and wondered whether it was not an historic scene I was witnessing, and whether it was not the last hour of the last Senate of the UNITED STATES. Ever truly yours,

A. G. B., JR.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

MEMOIR

OF

FREDERICK CHEEVER SHATTUCK

BY JOHN T. MORSE, JR.[1]

Frederick Cheever Shattuck was born in Boston, November 1, 1847. He came from old and good New England stock. I remember that my good friend Dr. George, the older brother of Frederick, once told me that the family then still owned a parcel of land on Blackstone Street which an ancestor of theirs had purchased from an Indian, and the red-skinned chieftain had executed the deed by affixing his totem; they still held the parchment.

The first of the family in this country was William Shattuck, who came over from England and settled in Watertown in or about the year 1630. The third in descent was a minute-man in the American Revolution. His son, Benjamin, was a physician; and George Cheyne Shattuck, son of Benjamin, also pursued the same profession; he was an A.B., an M.D., and an LL.D. of Dartmouth College, and an M.D. of the University of Pennsylvania. His son, also bearing his name, George Cheyne Shattuck, father of Frederick, continued the same calling. I remember him well; a most admirable gentleman, kindly and courteous, very able, noted as a doer of good, a prominent member of the Episcopal Church, respected and warmly liked by every one. He married a lady from Baltimore, Miss Anne Henrietta Brune, and she too was more than ordinarily clever, popular, witty, and highly esteemed in society.

When, in due course of years, the matter of educating his

[1] From the *Harvard Graduates' Magazine,* March, 1929.

children along lines which he could approve presented itself to Dr. Shattuck, his fundamental requirement was that they should be brought up in the country, which he deemed far superior to urban surroundings for young lads; and next, that the school should be dominated and very thoroughly inspired by sound Episcopalian influences. It was true that he himself had not been brought up in an Episcopalian family; but his wife was of that creed, and as he thus came to know it he came also to be greatly attracted by it, and in time was an ardent Churchman, as is so likely to be the case where a faith or creed is adopted in one's mature years. So now, to his mind, it was absolutely essential that his boys should be well saturated with the tenets which he himself held so devoutly. But he scanned the educational field in vain; he could discern no school either rural or Episcopalian which filled his requirements. Pained by this distressing vacuum, he resolved that it should exist no longer, and with prompt efficiency he proceeded at once to found the school of St. Paul's, at Concord, New Hampshire. He furnished the initial funds for the enterprise out of his own liberal pocket. He established it on a farm which had been his country place, and with such ability did he organize it, and with such acumen arrange the curriculum and select the teaching force that it almost immediately took position in the first rank, though it began operations modestly enough, with a class composed of George Shattuck, Frederick Shattuck, and Horatio Bigelow. Soon, however, Dr. Henry A. Coit, as Rector, and St. Paul's under his charge, became almost as famous in New England as Dr. Arnold and Rugby were in Old England; and in fact the two institutions were much alike in many respects. Here Fred remained five years, and then came to Boston, to study for a short time at the Boston Latin School, and afterward at the private school of Mr. Epes Sargent Dixwell. This move was not made because these two schools were supposed to be in any respect better than St. Paul's, but rather because there was a prevalent feeling that for some inscrutable, indefinable reason a lad from either of these local seminaries seemed to touch the appreciation of the Harvard examining board a little more deftly than an applicant from any other place seemed able to do. On the other hand, it was alleged as

matter of fact that the boys from St. Paul's were so over-well prepared that they really found little need for studying during the freshman year, and so too often became demoralized. So Dr. Shattuck, who was notoriously a very skilful navigator in perplexing currents, shrewdly steered his boy's craft betwixt this Scylla and this Charybdis. To which of the three schools credit is due is immaterial. Betwixt them all success was attained — possibly in some measure due to Fred's own exertions — and he passed his examinations and was admitted without "conditions" as a member of the Class of 1868. In college he did not attain the now obsolete position of "first scholar"; it is even probable that he was not regarded as a competitor for that distinction. On the other hand, during four years of temptation he had no clashes with the Faculty, and this too in spite of the fact that he was a member of that very compromising body known as the "Med Fac," which certainly does not indicate any narrow-minded prejudice on his part against doing mischief. Also he was elected into the eminently aristocratic Porcellian Club, which of course established his position in the collegiate peerage. Altogether his course was just about that which a wise parent would desire for his son — not dissipated and respectably studious. Meeting one of his classmates to-day and asking him about Shattuck, I got only: "I remember nothing especial, save that he was *very* [emphatically] popular."

After graduation the question of choosing a career of course arose. Yet it really was not much of a question for him. Three successive generations of progenitors who had all been physicians, and the example of his older brother George, who had already begun the study of medicine, combined to create a momentum which was not to be resisted. A like propensity has been observed in the families of other medical men; it reminds one of an Oriental caste. His own eldest son has since followed suit, and so has made the fifth in an unbroken succession. Only in the royal line of England do we find a family calling so methodically followed. This decision made it matter of course to enter the Harvard Medical School. After completing satisfactorily the curriculum there, he desired what was then considered the much higher training to be had in Europe. Accordingly he went abroad, making two

trips, which, together, constituted quite a prolonged stay. There he "walked the hospitals," and listened to lectures in Paris, London, and Vienna especially, and in some minor places. After this was completed, he naturally felt that preparation could be pushed no farther and so returned to Boston in 1875, to "set up his shingle" and to await patients. Of course the sick, the maimed, the lame, and the blind did not at once form a long row outside his office door, and he did not fare materially better than most neophytes do in a profession wherein the public looks for experience and some degree of maturity. After some time, however, he secured a position as instructor in the Harvard Medical School, and later his ambition aimed at a professorship there. This was not so easy to obtain, for naturally he was not the only aspirant for such a place. At last, however, the very eager competition was determined in his favor. These new duties he undertook with great zeal. They fitted well with his tastes and his abilities; in fact he was an exceptionally good instructor, for the liveliness of his mind and his picturesque and vivid way of expressing himself pleased the young men. When their attention was fixed, he would sometimes pause, look away for a moment, in thought, and then flash upon them some new, interesting remark. So he kept them alert alike by his manner, his form of expression, and the wisdom of what he said. A further consequence, if consequence it were, of his professorship was an immediate increase of his private practice, which now expanded rapidly. He had not started with any unusual *éclat,* but this stamp of official approval evidently placed him more nearly where he belonged. He said of himself that his progress might have been somewhat slow for the reason that he was not especially interested in "chasing belly-aches," but rather was ambitious for work in the Medical School.

On June 19, 1876, Dr. Shattuck was married to Miss Elizabeth Perkins Lee, a daughter of Colonel Henry Lee, then well known as a distinguished gentleman and an influential citizen in Boston. Generally speaking, a man's marriage may be set down as the most critical act in his life, to make or to mar his career. In the case of Dr. Shattuck, nothing more fortunate could have happened to him — or rather, could have been

done by him, whichever may be the proper way to put it. The lady was at once clever and socially attractive in the highest degree; in tastes and temperament they were happily congenial, and a life of delightful companionship lay before them. Both were very hospitable. They narrowed themselves down to no set or clique; their doors swung wide to all pleasant visitors, and such visitors came in liberal numbers. During long years their Sunday luncheons at Brookline became famous, not only through the large circle of their immediate friends, but widely among their acquaintance, for their invitations went generously far and wide. On these occasions the whole setting of the scene accorded admirably with the social gatherings which were taking place. The house was spacious, old-fashioned, picturesque; and the grounds were even far more pleasing. The place had belonged, in what seem now ancient days, to Colonel Thomas Handasyd Perkins; from him his daughter, Mrs. Cabot, took it; her daughter, Mrs. Henry Lee, succeeded her, and from this lady, her mother, Mrs. Shattuck became in her turn the "Lady of the Manor." In the more remote times, this part, at least, of Brookline was so possessed by Cabots that it seemed almost a domain of a clan, and very good landowners they were, for, as they loved rural surroundings, so they had rare skill and good taste in handling and developing their grounds. Among other things Mrs. Shattuck's grandmother had built a little theatre annexed to her house wherein Cabots and Lees and Jacksons and their comrades used to give "private theatricals." 'Tis eighty years since, yet "Box and Cox," with Colonel Frank Lee on the stage, rises vividly before my eyes as I write; while loftier efforts were in order for the elders. The acres about the ancient house were in perfect keeping with its aspect, laid out with antique English taste in landscaping, with a "pleached walk" and all sorts of devices, such as we read about in English books, but never see hereabouts. It would have been quite a fit scene for a novel, if novels of that kind were ever written in this country. Also Colonel Henry Lee, Mrs. Shattuck's father, especially, had a passion for arboriculture and horticulture, and he exercised his taste year after year in planting trees and developing shrubberies, with charming results. Thus altogether the

ensemble was unique and fascinating. The only thing to be regretted was that Dr. Shattuck and his wife were prevented by modesty from having any just appreciation of the pleasure which they were giving to their guests.

It is difficult — indeed, it would be foolish — for a man standing entirely outside of the medical calling to undertake to describe the professional qualities of a physician. Doubtless this task will be performed elsewhere and by a more competent hand. So far only as we laymen of the outside world saw and knew about Dr. Shattuck can I venture to speak of him in his profession. Among us outsiders, mere ordinary folk, he was extremely popular personally, and in point of ability we were perfectly convinced that he had no superior. When he was starting in practice, at a time when what we habitually call the "good old days" were then only commonplace present days, specialization did not prevail to any appreciable extent. The gentlemen of the medical profession had not divided the human frame into provinces, allotted among themselves, and protected from trespass by a sort of general understanding or code of honor. The "general practitioner" still held his own, and up to the time when Dr. Shattuck came upon the scene there had always been some venerable and trusted gentleman who was called "the leading physician," or "the head of the profession," just as in the sister profession there was, by the informal ballot of general consent, a "leader of the bar." Since there were two or three very competent rivals in the field, it may be prudent not to allot this distinction to him; but it is fair to say that no one outstripped him. Further, it was the fact that at an unusually early age it became customary to call him in for consultation. He is described to me by the gentlemen who thus worked with him as being possessed of a remarkably clear and quick insight. It is easy to feel sure that this was more than a conventional compliment if we recall that singularly keen, penetrating glance of his, which any one who knew him must have noted. He *saw,* where another man suspected. This expression of intelligent decision, quiet and unpretentious as it was, of course had the further very valuable result of winning the entire confidence of his patient. So the sick man never wanted "to try somebody else," and those who selected him

as their physician remained as loyal as a band of patriots. Accordingly, one of his confrères tells me that he had an "unusually devoted" body of patients. Another quality which much endeared him to them was his cheeriness. This was his real temperament, and since it quite obviously was not artificially worked up or assumed, but was perfectly ingenuous, it had a very pleasant, as well as wholesome, effect. A professional comrade who knew him very intimately has said to me, "If a realist and an optimist can be combined, he did it;" which signifies, I suppose, that while he knew grave probabilities he could still manage to hope. So his words of encouragement had somehow an inspiring sound, which in many cases, of course, involved practical help. His tact and his insight, both, were of the first order. He not only administered, but he personally *helped*. He was very tender-hearted, and no lapse of time or long custom of seeing illness and suffering could encrust this inherent quality. An assistant told me that once he reported a condition of pus upon the lung of a tiny child. A puncture was necessary. Dr. Shattuck looked at him and said: "With a *man*, to whom one can explain, I don't mind it. But a baby — " and he shook his head and turned away his face. Certainly time and practice never diminished his sympathy.

Another matter, not in the line of practice among patients, calls for mention. It is part of the evidence which goes to show what I believe to be true: that a really good doctor is usually a more than ordinarily good man. This is the immense amount of gratuitous labor, of time and toil, which leading physicians generously devote to assisting young men to acquire knowledge and fitness and sound principles in the professional careers which are before them. No other profession does the like. The law is a branch of business, and as such is absolutely practical and selfish — saving, of course, for those little acts of individual kindness which occasionally speckle most of our lives. The clergy, poor fellows, have, as a rule, quite a hard enough time of it to provide their own modest subsistence. But medical men of ability, crowded with more than abundant business, devote long hours, which mean much money as well as much toil, to educating the throngs of youthful aspirants who may soon be developing

into rivals in their own business. It is a generosity which is little appreciated, is taken for granted, and by no means brings that honorable recognition which it richly deserves. Dr. Shattuck was very generous in bearing his full share in this sort of work; and he won more than the average measure of popularity among the students. I am told by his professional brethren that his clinics were exceptionally popular and were always crowded. He invariably succeeded in keeping the attention of the class. It was his personality that achieved this gratifying result, together with his pride in his profession, his enthusiasm and some quality in his delivery which kept interest alive. In consequence, it is not a figure of speech, but an accurate statement of fact to say that the students really crowded to hear him. House officers and nurses were eager to please him. In a word, he was the admired master. In no small measure, as has been already indicated, this was due to personal characteristics as much as to skill and knowledge. Though his name was not connected with any especial novelty in the way of medical science, he kept his mind liberally open to all new ideas. Thus it was largely through his influence that the profession was led to abolish the old notion of starving the patients in cases of typhoid fever. In this as always he showed courage as well as good common sense in connection with technical wisdom. The traditions and the etiquette of the profession he treated with a becoming respect, but he never allowed them to hamper his free action according to his judgment.

It was also his lot to obtain a more extended medical experience than was desirable. It may be only trivially sarcastic, or conceivably in some cases it may have a shade of truth, to say that it is a wholesome thing for a physician to widen his practical experience by once in his life falling ill. Dr. Shattuck would not have seemed one of those persons who required this bit of education; but he got it, and severely. In the full tide of his career he was laid low by two successive serious illnesses. One of these was of a peculiarly exhausting and painful nature, and the other involved surgery. He bore his suffering with a heroism which would have been a good example for those of his patients who had to face like conditions. Nor was his recovery quite complete; *sequelæ* an-

noyed him for many years. It was a lesson which he did not need, but it had the interesting result of giving proof of his mettle. There is an amusing story connected with one of these illnesses which surely it may be pardonable to interpolate: For a week or ten days the sick man had been allowed literally not a single swallow of nutrition. It was then decided to allow him *just one teaspoonful* of fluid. His brother George, putting the tiny mouthful to his lips, suddenly stopped and said: " Now, Fred, be careful — *don't guzzle this.*" The joke is George's, but he would not have made it had he not been well assured that his brother had the spirit to take it well. Dr. Fred himself also could jest with a patient, upon sufficient provocation, as witness this: One day a woman patient, who had had and lost one husband, inclined to seek his advice as to the advisability of looking about for a second. She was explaining to him her reasons at wearisome length and setting forth what she conceived should be the functions and ordinary daily behavior of a husband. Exhausted, he at last said: " My good woman, I understand your case. What you want is not a husband, but a puppy dog. He will stay about the rooms and obey you, do what you tell him, and entertain you; and by the time you get tired of him, he will probably die."

Another affliction which assailed the Doctor was the loss of eyesight in one eye. Scripture may say what it will in favor of a single eye, but the popular prejudice still demands two, and he must have sometimes contemplated his jeopardy with some anxiety. But the loss was not observable to outsiders and he did not really suffer from it. The expression of his eyes, alike of both or of only one, was remarkable. It was singularly clear and piercing. I often used to note them as being the keenest eyes that I ever looked into. He always looked straight at his interlocutor, and seemed to be reading his very innermost thoughts. When he fastened that gaze upon you, you abandoned at once the hopeless task of trying to conceal or to mask anything that you might have even in your private consciousness. It was very odd; very impressive; I often noticed it. It was a sympathetic, understanding look; and when it was humorous, it was quite fascinating. But it was always so kindly withal that one did not much mind

being scrutinized by it. Yet there could be fire in it, too, upon occasion, and though he invariably had his temper under perfect control, he could be aroused to indignation — as every man who is good for anything can be. Perhaps it would be a somewhat extensive negation to allege that he was never in his life involved in a quarrel; but it is perfectly safe to say that, if he ever was, it was the other man who was to blame.

Further, he assured the full use of his faculties at all times by keeping himself always as nearly "fit" physically as circumstances would permit. In his advanced years he used, during the spring and autumn months, to go to the Country Club, on Clyde Street, hard by his estate in Brookline, and there he would have a round of golf with an antagonist when one was to be had, but, if none happened to be there, "with himself." In the summer he did much sailing at Islesboro and occasionally handled his own boat. He also amused himself with bowling; sometimes he would chop and saw wood. By constant interest in other people, he wholly avoided self-absorption, and that isolation which is sure to come with old age. The old saying, "mens sana in corpore sano," which has become so stale that one cannot write it without blushing, may be pulled into service just once more, because it describes him morally, mentally, and physically with such absolutely perfect accuracy.

It was an inevitable consequence of such qualities of mind and character that Dr. Shattuck should be a member of many societies and clubs. He began to be so in College, and he continued to be so through life, and not only in Boston but in sundry other cities. It is hardly worth while to devote to the enumeration of these at least half a page, which would be impressive, indeed, by its length, but which every reader would of course skip. Let it be more comfortably imagined. But it may be remarked that in all, or nearly all, these cases it was the society which sought him, not he who sought the society. The greater number were, of course, medical, and thus beyond the narrow boundaries of my knowledge, and no doubt some professional writer will make the enumeration in a more appropriate place. It is worth while, however, to say that in Boston he had the honor of being elected to the presidency of the famous Tavern Club, a position esteemed to carry a high

distinction. Of the famous Wednesday Evening Club he was an important member. And there is one other society, not medical, which certainly deserves mention because he was quite especially attached to it and very prominent in it. This was the Massachusetts Historical Society. This ancient and dignified body elected him to membership in the year 1916 and did itself a decidedly good turn thereby; for he became a very active member and contributed much to the *Proceedings*. It was not the tolerably familiar history of New England's past that chiefly interested him; rather it was the anecdotes, the daily occurrences, the humorous and characteristic bits. In some way, largely no doubt from family documents inherited from his own ancestors, he had a large fund of this sort of material, and he communicated it in frequent instalments. He sometimes read formal papers, but more often got up and talked to us for a while; and always, so soon as he was upon his feet, the assembly, which might before have been giving sporadic symptoms of somnolence, became at once aroused and attentive. Invariably he had something to say which was picturesque and entertaining; and he seldom sat down without having stirred at least one good laugh, sometimes several. One especial contribution of his, of a more formal nature, really ought to be singled out for mention. When his very dear friend, Dr. Sturgis Bigelow, died, Dr. Shattuck was cast for writing the usual sketch of his life. He did so and his achievement was remarkable. Avoiding alike statistical dryness and ordinary eulogy, he drew a vivid, spirited, and attractive picture of a gentleman of strongly marked characteristics and of considerable abilities. It was a very brilliant piece of work. I well remember how I admired it, and said to him that his only disappointment must have been that Dr. Bigelow himself could not have the pleasure of reading it. It was a veritable *tour de force*. Dr. Holmes has said that the true way to measure a man's greatness is not by his average, but the best thing he ever did; exemplifying it (with his usual love of the horse) by saying that the rank of the trotter is established by the highest record that he ever scores. If this principle is applied to Dr. Shattuck, this paper on Dr. Bigelow will mark him at a very high notch indeed in literature. A man who could do so well by a

friend ought to have the like done by him, but that is hardly likely to be the case. Good men may do as they would be done by, but lucky is he who secures the second half of the saying.

A placid and serene old age is very beautiful as a phrase when it is not a euphemism for slow decadence. But in spite of its poetical, or theoretical, charm, it would by no means have gratified Dr. Shattuck. With his energetic temperament he needed his activities and his lively interests — a full life so long as life lasted. Happily this was accorded to him; his splendid vitality stood by him nobly. The illness which closed his life, though distressing, was of short duration, bringing his death at the Brookline house on the eleventh day of January, 1929. The funeral was at the First Parish Church in Brookline, and certainly an impressive and noteworthy multitude of mourners bore striking testimony to his widespread popularity and to the general estimation in which he was held.

THE FOUNDING OF MASSACHUSETTS

A

Selection from the Sources

of the

History of the Settlement

1628–1631

THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY
BOSTON
1930

Committee of Publication.

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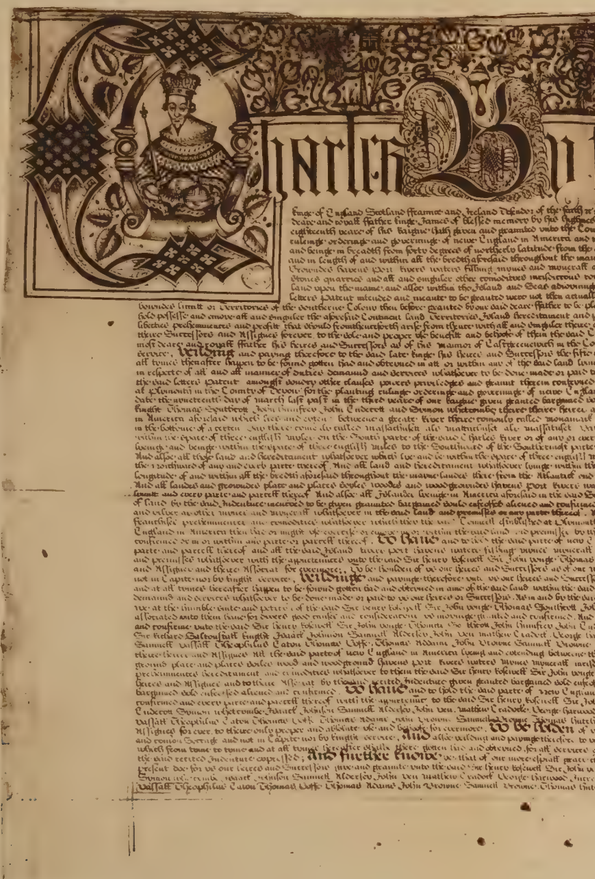

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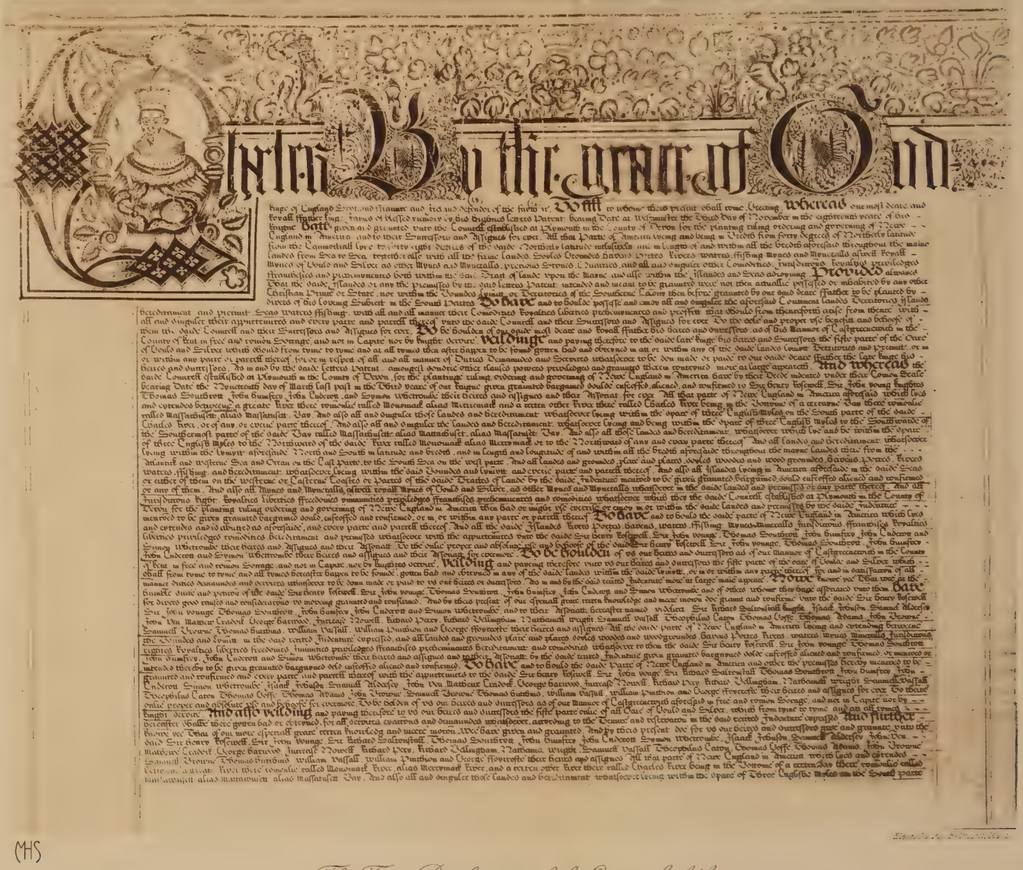
The First Parchment of the Endecott Duplicate of the Royal Charter at Salem



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The First Parchment of the Original of the Royal Charter at Boston

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PREFACE.

THE source materials on the founding of the Massachusetts Bay Colony reprinted in the following pages were chosen, first, to provide accurate versions of certain well-known texts, and, second, to make available others which are now difficult to come by. Savage's edition of *The History of New England* (1853), as he saw fit to entitle the Journal which John Winthrop kept from 1630 to 1649, is a rare book; that of J. K. Hosmer (1908), is expurgated, and was not prepared from the original manuscript. Young's *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (1846), has long been out of print and contains, moreover, only a small part of *The Planters Plea* (1630), usually thought to be the work of John White.

In printing these texts, footnotes have been used sparingly, many of them having been drawn from the generous pages of James Savage and Alexander Young. In the case of the Royal Charter of Charles I, the footnotes indicate such slight variations in wording as were discovered by careful collation of the official records of the growth of the Charter. In the case of Higginson and Winthrop, the endeavor has been to print their journals, as nearly as possible, literally.

The illustrations show certain manuscript sources, especially in the case of the Charter. The pictures of Endecott and Winthrop are made from the original portraits in the possession, respectively, of William C. Endicott, Esq., of Boston, and Grenville L. Winthrop, Esq., of New York City.

The Editor wishes to acknowledge the constant and courteous coöperation of Mr. Julius H. Tuttle, Librarian of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and Miss Elizabeth L. Burnett, both of whom have been of the greatest assistance in the preparation and collation of these texts.

S. M.

THE ROYAL CHARTER, OR PATENT, OF THE COLONY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY

INTRODUCTION

THE ORIGINAL CHARTER

THE Royal Charter, or Patent, of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay passed the seals March 4, 1628–29, and was handed over to the incorporators, of which company Matthew Cradock was the first governor. The Original Charter, still in a remarkable state of preservation, can be seen in a vault in the archives of the State House in Boston. The four large parchment sheets, each measuring approximately $34\frac{1}{2}$ by $25\frac{3}{4}$ inches, have been separated one from another and placed, back to back, under glass in two steel frames, only the outer side of the first of which is usually shown to visitors. The black of the ink has faded to amber, and the crimson of the embellishments is now maroon. The portrait, of course, is that of King Charles I. The impression of the Great Seal of England, six inches in diameter, on mustard-colored wax, is also under glass set in a steel ring attached to the second of these frames. The design can be distinguished only with difficulty.[1]

As actually issued to the patentees, the four sheets of parchment of the Royal Charter were fastened together with the cords of the pendant impression of the Great Seal in such a way as to read up from the first sheet, which was placed at the bottom, the last sheet lying on top, where the signatures could be seen at a glance. This topmost (but last) sheet of the Charter, bears two names, the first "Wolseley," is the clerk's engrossment of the signature of Sir Robert

[1] Good wax impressions of the Second Great Seal of Charles I are to be seen in the following places: India Office, 14 October, 1627; Hereford Cathedral, 13 November, 1628; Salisbury Diocesan Registry, 6 March, 1629; Bristol Corporation, 13 April, 1629; University College, Oxford, 11 May, 1629; Eton College, 2 May, 1640. A reconstruction is in the Archives.

Wolseley (1587–1646) of Morton, Staffordshire, clerk of the King's letters-patent at the time.[2] At the lower right-hand corner of this sheet appear the following words: "PRAEDICT: Matthaeus Cradocke Juratus est de Fide et Obedientiâ Regi et Successoribus suis, et de Debitâ Exequutione Officij Gubernatoris iuxta Tenorem Presentium, 18° Martij, 1628. Coram me, Carolo Caesare, Milite, in Cancellariâ Magistro. Char. Caesar."[3] These words are in the hand of Charles Caesar and comprise his attestation, over his signature, to Cradock's having taken the oath as Governor.

On the reverse of the sheet of parchment bearing the image of King Charles is the following in the hand of Wolseley: "A perpetuity graunted to Sir Henry Rosewell and others, of parte of Newe England in America. Wolseley."

SIX STEPS IN THE SETTLEMENT OF THE COLONY

Such is the one and only true Original Charter, the history of which requires a brief explanation. There were six important steps in the settlement of what came to be known as the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. The first of these was the purchase from the Council for New England (seated at Plymouth, in Devon) of a strip of its land extending from three miles north of the Merrimack River to three miles south of the Charles. Six associates, the nucleus of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, made this purchase March 19, 1627/28. Having added twenty to their number, the incorporators resolved to get a confirmation of their control from the Crown. For this purpose their attorney, a Mr. John Whyte of London, set in motion the somewhat complicated feudal machinery for obtaining a Patent, or Charter, under the Broad, or Great Seal of England.

But meanwhile the Company sent out one of their number, John Endecott, to the London Plantation at Naumkeag,

[2] *Burke's Peerage and Baronetage* (1930), 2510.

[3] Sir Charles Caesar (1590–1642), third son of Sir Julius Caesar, was master in chancery (1615 to 1630), judge of the court of audience and master of the faculties from before 1626 till his death.

later Salem. Endecott arrived at the plantation in September, 1628. There he found Roger Conant and a remnant of the settlers who had moved down the coast from Cape Ann.[4] In the face of difficulty, danger, and discouragement Endecott's success and perseverance through the first year made the subsequent settlement of Massachusetts possible.

In the meantime John Whyte had drawn up for the Company the text of the Charter they hoped to have granted them and was pushing it through its preliminary stages. Of these preliminary stages the official papers are no longer in existence and although the Records of the Company begin in 1628, the atmosphere surrounding these negotiations is obscure. The best description of the formal process was worked out by Charles Deane[5] on the basis of the work of Francis Palgrave.[6] Of this rather complicated process more hereafter; the Royal Charter "passed the seals" March 4, 1628/29, and was handed over to its owners, Matthew Cradock being sworn in at the time as the first Governor, although he had been so styled on March 2, at which date the issue of the Charter was already certain.[7] The third step was completed.

The fourth step was the second expedition, which is described in Francis Higginson's Journal, included in this volume. Higginson himself sailed in the *George Bonaventure,* but another of the five ships went ahead by a fortnight carrying Samuel Sharpe, agent of the Company, who brought over to Endecott letters from Cradock, his commission as Governor of the London Plantation, the "silver seal" of the Colony, and a duplicate of the Royal Charter, which had just been granted.[8] Endecott was thus armed, and authorized,

[4] Roger Conant and his companions abandoned the first settlement at Gloucester and went down to what later became known as Salem, in 1626.

[5] Charles Deane, "The Forms used in Issuing Letters-Patent by the Crown of England," 1 *Proc.* Mass. Hist. Soc. XI, 166–196.

[6] Francis Palgrave, *Second Report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records* (London, 1841).

[7] *Mass. Recs.* (Boston, 1853), I, 27. Charles I had signed the King's Bill February 27, 1628/29.

[8] *Ibid.,* 386–387; 396–397. This duplicate was presented in 1810 by Leverett Saltonstall to the Salem Athenaeum, which deposited it some years ago with the Essex Institute, where it is now to be seen.

to drive off the Company's lands rival claimants, such as John Oldham.

The momentous "Cambridge Agreement," the text of which is printed herewith, was signed August 26, 1629; the decisive vote of the General Court was taken in London three days later. This contingent pledge to emigrate to New England and the decision to transfer the Charter comprise the fifth, and perhaps most important step toward the setting up of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay.

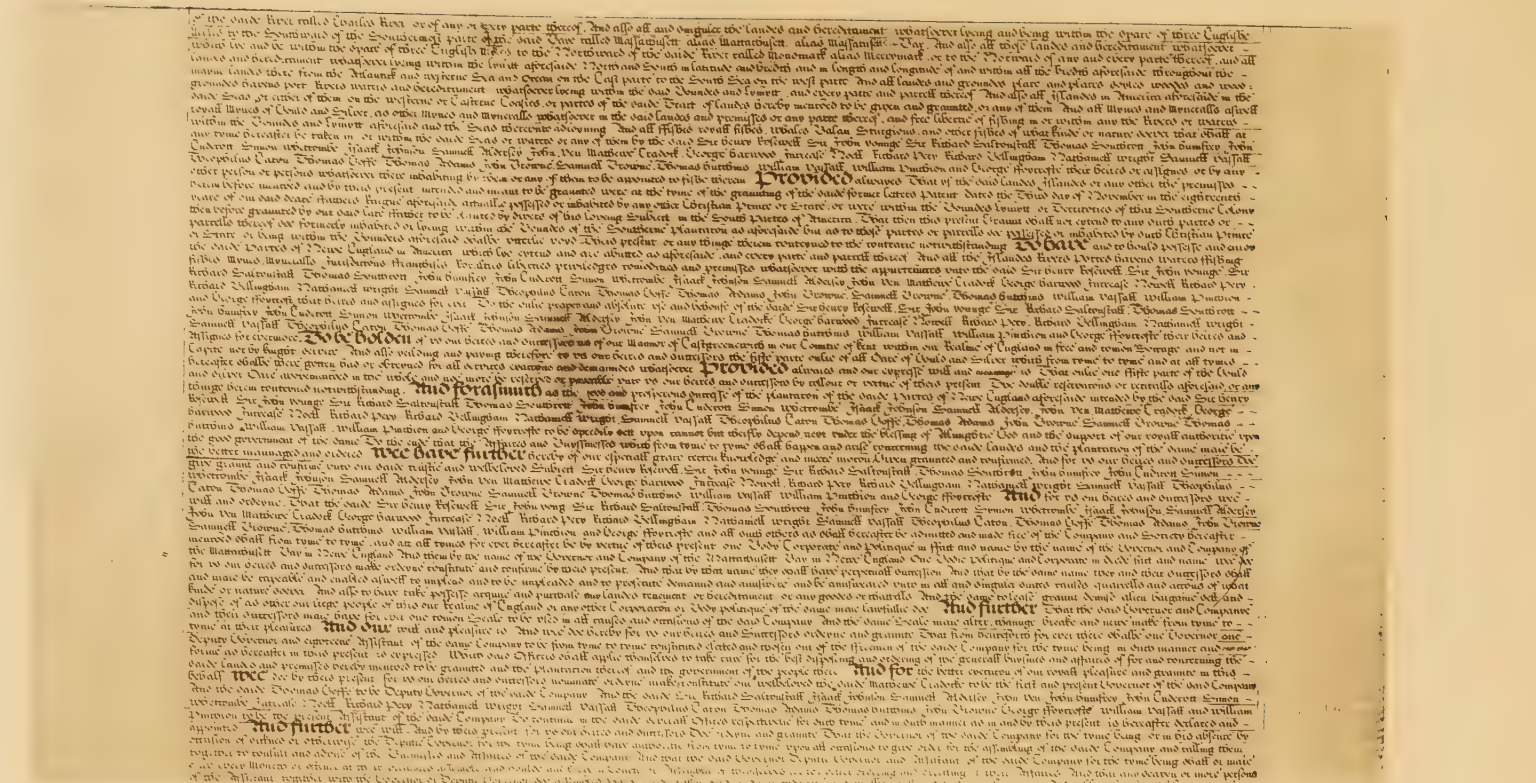
John Winthrop superseded Matthew Cradock as Governor of the Company in London; at Salem on June 12, 1630, he superseded John Endecott as Governor of the Colony. The story of his bringing over the Charter in the spring, of his arrival at Salem, and the move down to Charlestown is told in the first year of his *Journal*. This was the third expedition, or the beginning of the so-called Great Emigration. There was now one Governor, one Government, and one Charter (with its Duplicate, or Deputy,) in the Massachusetts Bay.

THE SIX OFFICIAL VERSIONS OF THE CHARTER

To return, now, to the business of complying with the complicated legal process with which the use of the Great Seal of England is safeguarded. A summary of the forms to be gone through with, made by Palgrave,[9] follows:

1. Petition addressed to the Crown, upon which is grounded the
2. Reference to the Law Officer or Officers [the Solicitor-General or the Attorney-General, or both] by the Privy Council or the Secretary of State;
3. Report of the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General [or one of them] and also of the Privy Council, if required;
4. Warrant under His Majesty's Sign Manual, which is the authority for:
5. The King's Bill, under His Majesty's Sign Manual, which is the authority for:

[9] Palgrave, *Second Report*, 28.



MHS

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The Second Parchment of the Original Royal Charter

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6. The Bill of Privy Signet, which is the authority for:
7. The Writ of Privy Seal, which, being the *recipi* of the Lord Chancellor, is the authority for:
8. The Patent [or Charter] under the Grand [or Great, or Broad] Seal.

In cases of urgent necessity, or when sufficient influence was brought to bear, this lengthy legal process involving weeks, or even months, could be considerably shortened, as one might imagine. At one time all royal officials paid highly for their offices in the expectation of recovering their initial outlay, and more, by means of fees and perquisites. Yet, although the Royal Charter of 1629 is said to have cost the Company £2000,[10] it went through all the stages listed above. All the records still in existence[11] have been photostated and carefully compared with photostats both of the Original Charter at Boston and the Endecott Duplicate at Salem. In this work of establishing a definitive text, not one difference of importance has been discovered; such as exist are the errors of scribes, and though of no significance, are indicated in footnotes.

In a brilliant report of the study of the Charter that he made in 1869, Charles Deane wrote of the King's Bill: "There, we have seen, the charter appears for the first time in its official form, and that is the authority for every thing that follows."[12] The King's Bill, dated February 27, 1628/29, consists of one large sheet of parchment containing the whole text of the Charter, signed "Ri: Shilton"[13] in the lower right-hand corner and bearing a very faint "Charles R" in the upper left-hand corner. At the bottom, to the left, is the Docket, again signed by Sheldon, who thus, it was supposed, explained to his sovereign the purport of the bill he was about to sign. And yet this Docket is not consistent with the Charter, as Deane and Parker discovered. If Charles read this Docket and thought twice about the matter, he certainly

[10] Justin Winsor, Ed., *The Memorial History of Boston, 1630–1880* (Boston, 1880), I, 329, n.

[11] The earliest of these official records is the King's Bill.

[12] 1 *Proc.* Mass. Hist. Soc., XI, 172.

[13] Richard Sheldon, the Solicitor-General.

would have supposed that both Company and Charter were to remain in England. The charter granted the Levant Company by James I in 1605, for instance, made the stipulation of residence plain.[14] In discussing the Massachusetts Charter, W. R. Scott writes: "This grant was unique in so far as it did not preclude the holding of meetings in the territory settled; and, therefore, by 1631, shareholders resident in England, had disposed of their holdings to those who had emigrated. Thus on the divisions of land being made, this plantation passed from company administration to local government."[15] Professor Channing gives good reasons for believing that the Royal Charter of 1628/29 was modelled on the New England Charter of 1620 (surrendered in 1635) and that necessary changes led to the requirement of residence being omitted through "inadvertence."[16] Whether Sheldon connived at deception or was merely careless, is a question.

The evidence of Winthrop as to the omission which Scott found unique, adds to the confusion. In 1644, in referring to the Charter in his "Arbitrary Government Described," Winthrop writes:[17] "The last clause is for the Governinge of the Inhabitants within the Plantation. For it being the manner for such as procured Patents for Virginia, Bermudas and the Weste Indies, to keepe the chiefe Government in the hands of the Company residinge in England (and so this was intended and with much difficulty we gott it abscinded) this clause is inserted in this and all other Patents wherby the Company in England might establish a Government and Officers here in any forme vsed in England, as Governor and Counsell, Iustices of Peace, Maior, Baylyfs and so forth, and accordingly Mr. Endecott and others with him were established a Governor and Councell heer, before the Government was transferred hither —." If John Whyte, the Company's attorney, made the first draft of the Charter,

[14] M. Epstein, *The Early History of the Levant Company* (London, 1908), Appendix I, 164, 166, and 181.

[15] W. R. Scott, *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, England, 1912), I, 201.

[16] Channing, *History of The United States*, I, 346.

[17] Robert C. Winthrop, *Life and Letters of John Winthrop* (Boston, 1869), II, 443.

surely there would have been nothing to "abscind"; the only difficulty would have been to prevent the insertion of restrictions. From what Winthrop remembered[18] the Company was apparently compelled to present a regular form charter with their initial petition for the grant of it. Nor was the abscinding process a complete success, for in the middle of the twenty-first line of the fourth sheet of the Charter occurs the phrase: "according to the course of other corporations in this our realme of Englande etc." The significance of the one word "other" would seem to have been overlooked.

The mystery deepens as one discovers that Sheldon must have read near the middle of the second paragraph of the Docket which professed to summarize the bill his sovereign was about to sign, the words: "for the electing of Governors and Officers here in England for the said company —", which surely would have implied the usual restrictions of residence for this Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. Yet he signed this incorrect description of the King's Bill.

The second official record of the Charter is the Signet Bill, a document of three membranes, containing the complete text prefaced by a formal salutation to the Keeper of the Privy Seal, who was then Henry, Earl of Manchester. This, too, bears the date of February 27.

The third official record is the Warrant under the Privy Seal, a document originally consisting of three membranes, the third of which has been lost since Sainsbury examined it in 1869. The full text of the Charter was prefaced by a livery clause, in Latin, and at the bottom of the third membrane was the date February 28 and the acknowledgment of the Lord Keeper: "*Recipi* 4 Martii 1628."[19] Thus the complete text of the patent was written out four different times (remembering the initial petition no longer in existence) before the actual Charter was issued under the Great

[18] Just what Winthrop did remember, as late as 1644, has become a subject for controversy. In discussing the words "we gott it abscinded", Professor Channing thinks Winthrop may "have used the word 'we' where 'they' would have been more accurate." *History of The United States,* I, 325. It is by no means certain (as will be seen later) that Winthrop was referring to a stipulation as to the residence of the Company in England.

[19] 1 *Proc.* Mass. Hist. Soc. XI, 173, n.

Seal of England. The Charter was, of course, the fifth copy — and remains to-day the fourth (in point of time) on the official records.

The fifth official document in the process is the Patent Roll, consisting of strips of parchment, about one foot in width and two feet in length, fastened end to end with strings and containing the full text of the Charter as a matter of record for the Crown. The Endecott Duplicate, sent out to Salem, was the sixth official text, and was apparently prepared independently of the Charter, for it differs ever so slightly from the Original, and these variations agree with the wording of the King's Bill. Two dockets, or brief summaries of the contents of the grant, one at the Signet Office and the other at the Privy Seal Office, complete the official records. The text of the Charter was written out in full at least seven times, and six of these versions are still in existence: four in London, one in Salem, and one in Boston.[20] The disappearance of all records antecedent to the King's Bill is probably accounted for by the fact that, until comparatively recent times, government officials often thought of public papers as their private property.[21]

Even though the Charter ceased to be a living constitution long ago, the subject of the legal value of these various texts of it deserves comment. According to the laws of England until the reign of Richard II, the charters themselves had to be produced in any case of disputed authority or litigation, for the wording of the charter always prevailed. But after the disturbances at the time of Wat Tyler, it was enacted, by 6 Ric. II c. 4, that deeds and other muniments heretofore enrolled in the Rolls of Chancery and elsewhere, which had

[20] For a detailed account of the whole process, see: Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, *The Great Seal* (London, 1926): Publications of H. M. Stationery Office.

[21] In March, 1930, extensive research by Miss Helena M. Chew revealed the fact that the original petition for the Charter is not at the Public Record Office. Miss Chew thought it "most unlikely" that the petition is in the British Museum. The first colonial charter for the official history of which the Public Record Office contains all the records from the petition to the issue of the Letters Patent, is that of Connecticut, 1661. The first three stages of this charter (1 *Proc.* Mass. Hist. Soc. XI, 168) are to be found among the colonial papers, as one would expect.

been torn or otherwise embezzled or destroyed in the late insurrection, might be exemplified, and the exemplification be of the same force as the deed. But not until the reign of Edward VI were enrollments of letters patent allowed to be received in evidence, and then only those which had been granted after 27 Henry VIII. In case of doubt as to the accuracy of such enrollment (both the original and the exemplification having been lost or destroyed) the Writ of Privy Seal is looked at, as in the famous Arundel Chapel Case,[22] decided by Lord Coleridge.

Manuscript Copies

Beside the six official texts, six manuscript copies of the Charter have been located, three in London and three in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Of those in London one is listed among the Hill Papers [23] and the other two were made, at some date not easily decided, for the use of the Committee of Trade and Plantations.[24] These two copies occupy forty-four and thirty-one folio pages respectively and were made by different hands. The first of these colonial copies was read, perhaps by some lawyer, and the contents reduced to synopses which are entered in the margins of the manuscript. Most of these synopses were copied in the margin of the second manuscript. A third manuscript, of seven folio pages, entitled: "Abstract of a Patent of King Charles I for establishing a Governor and Company [in] New England of the Mattachusetts [Bay] 4 March 1628," contains these synopses (numbered 1 to 29) copied out in the same hand as that which made the first marginal entries. At the end of each of these colonial copies is a certification that each is a true copy of the "Record in the High Court of Chancery" sworn to by George Hutchins May 17, 1629.

[22] Duke of Norfolk *v.* Arbuthnot, 4 C. P. D. 290. See *Report*, 302.

[23] Charles M. Andrews and Frances G. Davenport, *Guide to The Manuscript Materials for The History of The United States to 1783 in the British Museum, etc.* (Washington, 1908) 74, 5489, f. 70. This copy was attested April 21, 1653.

[24] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, 1574–1660 (London, 1860) I, 97; see also 88 and 96.

The originals of these copies are to be found in the Colonial Entry Book, LIX, and are listed in the Public Record Office as C.O. 1/5 and C.O. 5/902, respectively. The "Abstract" is listed also as C.O. 1/5.

In the so-called "Dunster Note Book," presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1867 by Robert C. Winthrop,[25] is a very old manuscript copy of the Charter, covering seventeen pages (7 to 23 inclusive) of quarto size. In the two-inch margin at the left of each page are copied topical synopses of the text, somewhat as in the Colonial Copies in the Public Record Office. Although the spelling is individual, the hand-writing is clear and in an excellent state of preservation. The text ends with the three words "In Witnesse whereof." At the head of it, in three and two lines, are the following words: "A Coppie of the Kings Majesties Charter for incorporating the Companie of Mattachusetts Bay in New England in America: [*space*] Granted in the fourth yeare of his Highnes Raigne of England Scottland France and Ireland. Anno Domini 1628." Accurate evidence as to the age and the author of this manuscript copy is lacking.

A fifth manuscript copy of the Charter is to be found in a volume of "Miscellaneous Papers,"[26] the latest of which is dated 1691. It occupies nine folio pages, and is obviously very old.

The sixth manuscript copy is the most interesting of all, bearing, as it does, the fragments of the oldest impression of the official silver seal of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay known to exist.[27] This copy fills seventeen folio-sized sheets of paper, the last being badly worn at the folds, as if it had long been carried in a pocket. The attestation in the handwriting of John Winthrop, his signature, the curiously confused date of 1644, and the faint remains of the impression of the seal may be seen in the accompanying illustration. At the foot of every other page is at least one signature of Winthrop; occasionally there are two. The preparation of this

[25] Mr. Winthrop obtained this note book, apparently by purchase, from the daughter of Jeremy Belknap.

[26] Mass. Hist. Soc. "Miscellaneous Papers" (Vol. I: 1628–1691): C. 012.4.

[27] Mass. Hist. Soc. "Massachusetts and New York" (1644–1691): 014.1.

to, Gaoling, Ordring and disposinge of all such Busines as doe or shall from time to time happen touchinge or concerninge the said Company or Plantacon. And that there shall or may be held and kept by the Governor or Deputy Governor of the said Company and fower or more of the said Assistant for the time being upon every last Wednesday in Hillary, Easter, Trinity and Michas Terme respectively, for ever. One generle generall and solempne Assemblie, Quarter Court generall Assemblies shalbe called and called the fowre greate and generall Court of the said Company. In all and every, or any of which said greate and generall Court soe assembled, **we doe** for vs vs our heires and successors give and graunte to the said Governor and Company and their successors That the Governor or in the absence of the Deputy Governor of the said Company for the time being, and such of the Assistant and freemen of the said Company as shalbe present or the greater number of them soe assembled, viz. of the Governor or Deputy Governor and Six of the Assistant at the least to be seaven shall have full power and authority to chuse nominate and appointe such and soe many other as they shall thinke fitt and requisite for the ordering managinge and disposinge of the Affaires of the said Governor and Company and vses and successors And to make Lawes and Ordinnces for the good and welfare of the said Company and for the government and ordring of the said lands and plantacon, and the people inhabitinge and to inhabite the same and to them from time to time, shalbe thought meete. Soe as such Lawes and Ordinnces be not contrarie or repugnant to the Lawes and statut of this our Realme of England. **And our will** and pleasure is And wee **doe** hereby for vs vs our heires and successors straitlie charge and ordeyne That yearely once in the yeare for ever hereafter namely the last wednesday in Easter Terme yearely the Governor, Deputy Governor and Assistant of the said Company and all other Officers of the saide Company shalbe in the generall Court or Assemble to be held for that day or time newly chosen for the yeare ensueing by such greater parte of the said Company for the time being then and there present as is aforesaide. **And if** it shall happen the present Governor Deputy Governor and Assistant by them present appointed or such as shall hereafter be newly chosen into their roomes or any of them or any other of the Officers to be appointed for the said Company to die or to be removed from his or their respective Offices or placed before the said generall Day of election whome wee doe hereby declare for any misdemeanure or desert to be removeable by the Governor Deputy Governor Assistant and Company or such greatre parte of them in any of the publique Court to be assembled as is aforesaid That then and in every such case it shall and maie be lawfull to and for the Governor Deputy Governor Assistant and Company aforesaide or such greatre parte of them soe to be assembled as aforesaide in any of their Assemblies to proceade to a new election of one or more others of their Company in the roome or place removed or placed as such Officer or Officers soe dyeinge or removed ceasinge to their Offices and. And immediatly upon and after such election and cleareinge made of such Governor Deputy Governor Assistant or Assistant or any other Officer of the said Company in manner and forme aforesaid the authorities Office and power before given to the former Governor Deputie Governor or other Officers soe removed in whose steede and place were chosen shall as to him and them and every of them cease and determeine. **Provided** also and our will and pleasure is That assoone such as are by these presents appointed to be the present Governor Deputy Governor and Assistant of the said Company as aforesaid shall sucessively take the oathes to them and all other Officers to be appointed and chosen as aforesaid shall before their undertake the executon of their said Offices and places respectively take their corporall oathes for the due and faithfull performance of their duties in their severall Offices and places before such person or persons as are by these presents hereunder appointed to take and receive the same That is to saie the said Maticulare Craddock whoe is hereby nominated and appointed the present Governor of the said Company shall take the said oathes before one or more of the Maisters of our Court of Chancerie for the time being. Unto which Maister or Maisters of the Chancerie wee doe by these presents give full power and authoritie to take and administer the said oathe to the said Governor accordinglie. And after the said Governor shalbe soe sworne Then the said Deputy Governor and Assistant before be their presently nominated and appointed shall take the said oath severall to their Offices and places respectivelie belonging before the said Matthew Craddock the present Governor, soe sworne like manner as aforesaid. And every such person as shall be at the time of the annuall election or otherwise upon death or removall to be appointed to be the newe Governor of the said Company shall take the oathes to him place belonging before the Deputy Governor or two of the Assistant of the said Company at the least for the time being. And the newe elected Deputie Governor and Assistant, and all other Officers to be hereafter chosen as aforesaide from time to time to take the oathes to their places respectivelie belonging before the Governor of the said Company for the time being. Unto which said Governor Deputie Governors Assistant. Wee doe by these presents give full power and authoritie to give and administer the said oathes respectivelie according to our true meaninge herein before declared without any Comission or further warrant to be had and obteined of vs our heires or successors in that behalf. **And wee doe further** of our especiall grace certen knowledge and meere motion for vs our heires and successors give and graunte to the said Governor and Company and their successors for ever by these presents That it shalbe lawfull and free for them and their Agents at all and every time and times hereafter out of any our Realmes or Dominions whatsoever to take leade carry and transport for them and their owne uses and for and towards the said plantacon in Newe England all such and soe many of our loving Subiects or any other Strangers that will become our loving Subiects and have a mynd and Allegeance as shall willinglie accompany them in the same voyages and plantacon, and also Shipping Armour weapons Ordinance, Munic, Powder Shott Victuall, and all manner of other thinges Implement Furniture Victualls Cattle horse Mares Marchandizes, and all other things whatsoever for the said plantacon, and for their use and defence, and for Trade with the people there and in passing and returning to and fro. Any Lawe or Statute to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding And without paying or yeilding any Custome or Subsidie either inward or outward to vs our heires or successors for the same, by the space of seaven yeares from the day of the Date of these presents. **Provided** that none of the said persons be such as shalbe hereafter by especiall name restrained by vs our heires or successors. **And** for their further encouragement of our especiall grace and favor we doe by these presents for vs our heires and successors yeild and graunte to the said Governor and Company and their successors and every of them that freedom and liberties. That they and every of them shalbe free and quit from all Duties Subsidies and Customes in Newe England for the like space of seaven yeares and from all Taxes and Impositions for the space of twentie and two yeares upon all goodes and Merchandizes at any time or times hereafter either upon, transportacon thither or exportacon from thence into our Realme of England or into any other our Dominions by the said Governor and Company and their successors their Deputies Factors and Assignes, or any of them. **Upon** which they shall pay fower pounds per Centum for his Custome upon all such goodes and Merchandizes as after the said seaven yeares shalbe expired shalbe brought or imported into our Realme of England or any other of our Dominions according to the auncient Trade of Marchant. Which five pounds per Centum is to be paid to vs our heires or successors or to any other Officers or Ministers of our heires and successors. **Provided** that the said Goodes and Merchandizes be shipped out within thirteene Monethes after their first landing within any parte of the said Dominions. **And wee doe** for vs our heires and successors give and graunte unto the said Governor and Company and their successors That whatsoever or how often as any Custome or Subsidie shall growe due or payeable unto vs our heires or successors according to the limitacon and appointment aforesaide by reason of any goodes wares or merchandizes to be shipped out or any retourne to be made of any goodes wares or merchandize unto or from the said Parts of Newe England hereby meaned to be graunted as aforesaide, or any the Landes or Territories aforesaide That then and soe often and in such case the aforesaid Customers and Officers of our Customes of England and Ireland and every of them for the time being, upon Request made to them by the said Governor and Company or their successors Factors or Assignes and upon reasonable Security to be given in that behalf, shall give and allowe unto the said Governor and Company and their successors and to all and every perso and persons free of that Company as aforesaide Five Monethes time for the payment of the one halfe of all such Custome and Subsidie as shalbe due and payeable unto vs our heires and successors for the same, five whole Moneths time for the payment of the other halfe thereof. And if any the said Goodes wares and Merchandizes or the Custome or the Portion thereof shalbe unto our said Officers or Ministers of our heires and successors for the same, five whole Moneths time for the payment of the one halfe of all such Custome and Subsidie as shalbe due and payeable unto vs our heires and successors for the said goodes wares and Merchandize

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copy of the Charter was occasioned by disputes between traders from settlements on the Connecticut and the Swedes on the Delaware, reference to which may be found in Winthrop's Journal,[28] where the request of "Mr. Eaton" for it is made note of. Hutchinson used this manuscript copy for the text of his *Collection of Original Papers* (1769) and Shurtleff copied Hutchinson for the *Records of Massachusetts* (1853).

The Transfer of the Charter

The transfer of the Original of the Patent, or Charter, to the plantation has always occasioned differences of opinion on the question of the legality of the act. The Agreement at Cambridge was signed with that end in view, and three days later the General Court, by a show of hands, signified its assent to the proposal first made about a month before (July 28, 1629) and since then discussed informally, and in secret. The decision was momentous[29] in so far as it made the charter of a trading company the written constitution of a colony. As such, the Charter was subjected to violations and became the instrument of usurpations, some of which were the cause (or the excuse) for the vacating of it by *Scire Facias* in 1684. During a century and a half scholars have spent both ink and energy on the subject, without, it would seem, getting much further than to confirm themselves in their initial notions. As late as 1846 Young, having examined the commentaries available at that time, seemed to agree with Governor Hutchinson and Justice Story that the intention of the Charter was to "constitute a corporation in England like that of the East India and other great Companies" — and that the legality of the transfer of it in 1630 was, to say the least, doubtful.[30]

[28] James Savage, Ed., *The History of New England* (Boston, 1853), II, 189.

[29] "This removal was a fact of the greatest importance, not only in the history of New England, but in the development of modern social and governmental forms, and as such it is worthy of detailed study." Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, I, 142.

[30] *Chronicles of Massachusetts* (1846), see notes, 85–88. Also Hutchinson's *History* (London, 1795) I, 13, (Salem, 1795) I, 20; Story's *Commentaries on the Constitution* (Boston, 1833) I, 50–51.

In 1869 the whole matter was argued out with even more learning and light, for in that year was given the great course of Lowell Lectures,[31] two of which dealt with the Royal Charter of 1629: "Records of Massachusetts under its First Charter," by Charles W. Upham, and "The First Charter and the Early Religious Legislation of Massachusetts," by Joel Parker. The latter became involved in a discussion in December of that year with Mr. Charles Deane, whose paper, "The Forms in Issuing Letters Patent by the Crown of England," is the best of several good studies of the subject of the history, the intention, and the use of the Royal Charter.[32] All the impersonal arguments for and against the legality of the action of the General Court in London, August 22, 1629, were gone over by these two scholars, and Palfrey[33] had already suggested John Whyte, legal adviser of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, as the authority for any liberal interpretations of the Charter.

In 1887 J. A. Doyle published the *Puritan Colonies,* the second section of his great five-volume study of *The English in America* (1882–1907). Certain of his statements about the granting and transfer of the Charter and Winthrop's recollection of the transaction[34] as late as 1644, led to the last interesting discussion of this subject. In 1893, the Hon. Mellen Chamberlain,[35] defending the position Charles Deane had taken against Professor Joel Parker in 1869, sought to contradict Mr. Doyle's interpretation of both text and evidence. Emphasizing the original distinction in the Charter between the government of the Company and any separate and necessarily subordinate government it might establish in the plantation, Mr. Chamberlain insisted that what Winthrop wrote in 1644 did not refer to any stipulation as to the residence of the Company in England. "It was," he concluded, "the right to set up this subordinate government that was obtained 'with much difficulty.'" Mr. Chamberlain's

[31] *Early History of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1869), 229–256; 357–439.
[32] 1 *Proc.* Mass. Hist. Soc. XI, 166–196.
[33] J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1856), I, 306–307.
[34] J. A. Doyle, *The English in America: The Puritan Colonies* (London, 1887) I, 120–121; 352–353.
[35] 2 *Proc.* Mass. Hist. Soc. VIII, 108–112.

theory is of particular importance because it reconciles the official evidence of the growth of the Charter, with what John Winthrop remembered of it in 1644, as well as Professor Channing's plausible suggestion that the stipulation as to residence was omitted through "inadvertence." Sir Richard Sheldon, then, would be seen to have signed the Docket to the King's Bill carelessly, but in good faith. Thus the whole suspicion or legend of conspiracy would vanish.

Questions as to the attitude of the King toward the granting and transfer of the Charter, are beside the point.[36] On March 12, 1627/28, the Massachusetts Company bought its land from the Council for New England; almost a year later, March 4, 1628/29, this grant was confirmed by the Royal Charter, which the lawyers for the Company had been preparing during the eleven or twelve months intervening. England was at war with France, and the attempts to relieve La Rochelle were under way; on May 28, 1628, the Petition of Right passed both Houses; after August 23, which saw the murder of Buckingham at Portsmouth, Charles was distracted for some time by the loss of the man on whom he had always depended for initiative and strategy. If one considers the quarrel with the Queen and the complexity of his own character, still something of a puzzle to historians, it can easily be seen that his interest in the Charter of what appeared to be only an insignificant trading company must have been very slight, at most. Although he was a hard-working, inquisitive monarch, he probably glanced only at the two signatures of Sheldon, his Solicitor-General, at the moment he signed the King's Bill; if he did more, and read the Docket, he certainly would have been justified in thinking that the Charter he was authorizing was in no way extraordinary — by reason of words either inserted or "abscinded."

The spectacular failure of Charles is usually the first reason for his being thought unwise, or wicked, or even a royal martyr. But Winthrop[37] himself seems to have believed his sovereign was shrewd enough to realize that the success of plantations in New England might relieve him of some of

[36] Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 88, n.

[37] Winthrop, *History of New England* (Boston, 1853) I, 122–123.

the pressure from the opposition of Nonconformists at home.[38] As Prince of Wales he had already shown enough personal interest in the land to help actively in the naming of different parts of it. When it was learned, moreover, in 1629, that he would govern without Parliament, perhaps the men who had promoted their plantation as an investment came to think of it rather as a refuge.

The History of the Charter

In running over the history of the Colony under this first Charter, it is easy to see that the various governments in England by no means agreed with all that had been done in the transfer of the Patent and the use of it after it had been removed from England.[39] The Charter was in force fifty-five years and nine months, lacking a few days: March 4, 1628/29 to October 23, 1684. During eighteen years (1642–1660) England was first torn by Civil War and then governed by men who had every reason not to enquire too closely into what might seem to be, in fact or fancy, acts of usurpation, particularly on the part of their own friends. Again (1666–1676) there occurred a ten years' lapse of relations after a lengthy exchange of correspondence between Crown and Colony, following the Restoration. At this time the General Court prevented a break and silenced the King by presenting him with a whole shipload of masts, the cost of the freight alone being sixteen hundred pounds sterling.[40] The letter of thanks from Charles II is dated April 21, 1669.

The sum-total of twenty-eight years accounted for by commotion, the Commonwealth, and royal indolence makes up slightly more than half of the whole period of the active life of the Charter. But the time consumed in the four dif-

[38] For an important difference of opinion as to the possible attitude of Charles I in this regard, see H. E. Egerton, *A Short History of British Colonial Policy* (London, 1897), 46, 47; and Channing, *History of the United States,* I, 332–333, n. Professor Channing thinks it unlikely that King Charles felt as Winthrop's "hearsay" evidence led him to believe.

[39] Justin Winsor, Ed., *The Memorial History of Boston, 1630–1880* (Boston, 1881) I, 329–382: Charles Deane, "The Struggle to Maintain the Charter of King Charles the First, and its Final Loss in 1684."

[40] *Ibid.,* I, 363.

ferent attacks on the Charter adds up to eighteen years.[41] This leaves a grand total of ten years of peace — or twenty, if one count the decade (1666–1676) when Charles II failed to insist that the stipulations he had made be lived up to. Although the first official objection to the transfer of the Charter made its appearance in July, 1679, much of Professor Parker's argument of time and silence thus loses weight, as one examines the record.[42] The fact remains that two proceedings of *Quo Warranto* were brought against the Charter, the first as early as June, 1635, by Sir John Banks, the Attorney-General, although "There was no service of the writ on the corporation, nor on any of the members in Massachusetts."[43]

The last attack on the Charter was carefully prepared and performed with caution and persistence. The eventual success of this campaign of seven years was largely due to Edward Randolph, who arrived at Boston in June, 1676, when King Philip's War was drawing to a close. Almost a year later (May 6, 1677), in England, he submitted his report on the affairs of Massachusetts. When presented to the Privy Council, this report was handled with a legal care that was almost elaborate:[44] it was divided into three parts, of which the first, dealing with the right of the Colony to the Charter, was laid before the judges. The declaration of these judges (Chief Justices North and Rainsford) that the Charter created "a corporation upon the place," Osgood calls "remarkable." The Privy Council was left to deal with the use made of the Charter — those extra-legal acts which Winthrop had referred to "details."[45] As a third exhibit the laws of Massachusetts were laid before the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General "for their opinion concerning their agree-

[41] 1. Gorges and Mason, December 19, 1632, to January 19, 1632/33.
2. Laud's Commission, February 21, 1633/34, to June, 1639.
3. Clarendon's Government, February 11, 1662/63, to September 11, 1666.
4. Edward Randolph, March 10, 1675/76, to October 23, 1684.

[42] *Early History of Massachusetts* (1869), Joel Parker, "The First Charter," 380.

[43] Justin Winsor, Ed., *Memorial History of Boston,* I, 343.

[44] Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century,* III, 319–320.

[45] Channing, *History of the United States,* I, 342.

ment with the laws of England.[46] Obviously the government in England at last meant business, and in view of the facts, the fate of the Charter was only a question of time. At most, Randolph was no more than the industrious agent of an administration which was determined to alter the situation in New England.

Seven years afterward, the second proceedings by *Quo Warranto* were dropped and the Charter was finally vacated by a suit of *Scire Facias* in the Court of Chancery, final judgment in which was rendered October 23, 1684, representatives of the Colony having failed to appear after four months' warning. Randolph arrived in Boston with the exemplification of this judgment on May 14, 1686,[47] just two days after the last election. This document[48] gives the causes of forfeiture as three — all of them repeated acts of usurpation: the levying of taxes and customs, the coining of money, and the requiring of oaths of loyalty to the government of the Colony. In this connection it is important to remember that after the Glorious Revolution certain eminent lawyers, and Whigs (Somers among them) gave their legal advice against any effort to restore the old Charter, by reversing the process, because were it to be restored, " a new writ would issue against it, and there would be such a judgment as to leave no room for a writ of error."[49] Yet the Royal Charter William and Mary granted the Province in 1691 represented a great loss, so far as self-government was concerned, compared with that which Charles I had granted the Company in 1628/29. The transfer of the Charter and the making of laws repugnant to those of the realm of England are not noticed in the exemplification, which was issued at the command of James II, October 13, 1685.[50]

[46] For Professor Joel Parker's interpretation of the proviso in the Charter that the grantees should not make any " laws repugnant " to those of the realm of England, see *Early History of Massachusetts* (1869), 386. The Charter certainly forbade such laws (whatever they might be), but the writ of *Scire Facias* (1684) or the exemplification of it, which Randolph produced in Boston (1686), did not mention the subject.

[47] *Edward Randolph: His Letters and Official Papers* (Boston, 1898–1909), IV, 66 and 74.

[48] 4 *Coll.* Mass. Hist. Soc. II, 246–278.

[49] Justin Winsor, Ed., *Memorial History of Boston,* I, 379, n.

[50] 4 *Coll.* Mass. Hist. Soc. II, 278. Omission of any mention of the transfer of the Charter is explicable on the basis of the decision of Chief Justices North and Rainsford in 1677.

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The Fourth Parchment of the Original Royal Charter

Printed Texts of the Charter

The text of the Royal Charter has been printed often. It first appeared in 1689, in a quarto of twenty-six pages, printed "by S. Green for Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffee House near the Town-House in Boston, 1689," from the Endecott Duplicate at Salem.[1] Hutchinson[2] printed it in 1769, using the Winthrop Manuscript Copy now in the Massachusetts Historical Society.[3] Hazard printed it from the "original"[4] in 1792, after which two official versions were published, at the direction of the Commonwealth, in 1814 and 1853, respectively.[5] The meat of the text has been printed in William MacDonald, *Select Charters* (New York, 1899) and Francis N. Thorpe, *American Charters, Constitutional and Organic Laws,* 1492–1908, 7 vols. (Washington, 1909), I, 1846–1860, gives all of it.

Commentaries on the Charter

Beside the communication of Charles Deane, the Lowell Lecture of Professor Joel Parker, and chapters in Winsor's *Boston* by Winthrop and Ellis, good commentary on the history and use of the Charter is to be found in Palfrey,[6] C. F. Adams,[7] Doyle[8] and Ellis.[9] In the present century the work of three scholars is important: Osgood,[10] Channing,[11] and

[1] *Catalogue of the Library of the Mass. Hist. Soc.,* II, 26.

[2] *Collection of Original Papers* (1769), 1–23. Hutchinson's *Collection of Original Papers* was reprinted by the Prince Society (Albany, 1865), in two volumes. See I, 1–25. [3] Massachusetts and New York (1644–1691), 1.

[4] *Historical Collections* (Philadelphia, 1792), I, 239–255.

[5] *The Charters and General Laws of the Colony and Province of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1814), 1–17. *Records of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1853), 1–20. This second text follows that of Hutchinson and the Winthrop Copy, not the Original.

[6] J. G. Palfrey, *History of New England* (Boston, 1858) I, Chaps. 8, 9, and 10.

[7] C. F. Adams, Jr., *Three Episodes of Massachusetts History* (Boston, 1892), I, Chaps. XIV, XV, and XVI, especially 270–293.

[8] J. A. Doyle, *The English in America: The Puritan Colonies* (London, 1887) I, 120–121; 129–130; 352–353.

[9] G. E. Ellis, *The Puritan Age and Rule* (Boston, 1888), Chapter II.

[10] H. L. Osgood, *The American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1904–1907) I, 132–150, and III, 309–335.

[11] Edward Channing, *History of the United States* (New York, 1905) I, 322–355.

James Truslow Adams.[12] For a good essay on the early history of the Massachusetts Bay Company, see an article by S. F. Haven in *Archaeologia Americana* ("Transactions of the American Antiquarian Society"), III, ix–cxxxviii. The same author's "History of Grants under the Great Council for New England," together with its valuable Supplement, is to be recommended for the untangling of that part of the history of New England.[13]

This introduction and the text of the Charter following it could not have been prepared without the enthusiastic assistance of Richard W. Hale, Esq., the American Secretary of the Selden Society, whose kindness in obtaining material and generosity in lending it were indispensable. To him, also, is due the accurate indentification of the almost obliterated impression of the second Great Seal of Charles I attached to the actual Original Charter in the State House.[14] Statements as to the legal precedence and force of the various texts of the Charter are based on Mr. Hale's correspondence with F. Stuart Moore, Esq., of London, the English Secretary of the Selden Society, an authority on the subject. Researches made in London by Miss Helena M. Chew have been of invaluable assistance to the Editor.[15]

[12] J. T. Adams, *The Founding of New England* (Boston, 1921), 127–140.

[13] *Massachusetts and its Early History* (1869), 129–162.

[14] See, A. B. Wyon and A. Wyon, *The Great Seals of England* (London, 1887), 83–84, and Plate XXVII.

[15] The researches in England of Colonel Charles E. Banks have revealed the interesting fact that, as late at 1635, one John Cole of Clipsham, co. Rutland, sued Thomas Goffe, as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Bay Company, for an accounting. Among other facts, the defendant stated that all the Adventurers suffered the loss of their investments. P.R.O. Court of Requests, Bundle LIX, pt. ii, (664).

THE ROYAL CHARTER

OF THE

GOVERNOR AND COMPANY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS BAY IN NEW ENGLAND

March 4, 1628/29.

Charles By the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland Fraunce and Ireland Defendor of the fayth etc. *To all* to whome theis presentes shall come. Greeting. *Whereas* our most deare and Royall Father Kinge James of blessed memory by His Highnes letters Patentes bearing Date at Westminster the Third Day of November in the eighteenth yeare of His Raigne, *hath* given and graunted vnto the Councell established at Plymouth, in the County of Devon for the planting ruling ordering and governing of Newe England in America, and to their Successors and Assignes for ever, All that Parte of America lyeing and being in Bredth from forty degrees of Northerly latitude from the Equinoctiall lyne, to forty eight degrees of the saide Northerly latitude inclusively, and in length of and within all the bredth aforesaid throughout the maine landes from Sea to Sea, together also with all the firme landes. Soyles, Groundes, Havens Portes, Rivers waters, Fishing Mynes and myneralls, aswell Royall Mynes of Gould and Silver, as other Mynes and Myneralls, precious Stones, quarries, and all and singuler other Commodities, Jurisdiccions, Royalties, priviledges Franchesies and prehemynences both within the said Tract of lande vpon the Mayne, and also within the Islandes and Seas adioyning, *Provided* alwayes That the saide Islandes or any the premisses by the said letters Patentes intended and meant to be graunted were not then actuallie possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State, nor within the Boundes

Lymittes or Territories of the Southerne Colony then before graunted by our said deare Father to be planted by divers of his loveing Subiectes in the South Partes *To have* and to houlde possesse and enioy all and singuler the aforesaid Continent landes Territories Islands hereditamentes and precinctes, Seas Waters Fishinges, with all and all manner their Commodities Royalties liberties prehemynences and proffittes that should from thenceforth arise from thence with all and singuler their appurtenances and every parte and parcell thereof vnto the saide Councell and their Successors and Assignes for ever, To the sole and proper vse benefitt and behoofe of them the saide Councell and their Successors and Assignes for ever, *To* be houlden of our saide most deare and Royall Father his heires and successors, as of his Mannor of Eastgreenewich in the County of Kent in free and common Soccage, and not in Capite nor by Knightes Service, *yeildinge* and paying therefore to the saide late Kinge his heires and Successors the fifte parte of the Oare of Gould and Silver which should from tyme to tyme and at all tymes then after happen to be found gotten had and obteyned in att or within any of the saide landes lymyttes Territories and Precinctes, or in or within any parte or parcell thereof, for or in respect of all and all manner of Duties Demaundes and Services whatsoever to be don made or paide to our saide deare Father the late Kinge his heires and successors, As in and by the saide letters Patentes (amongest sondrie other clauses powers priviledges and grauntes therein conteyned) more at large appeareth. *And whereas* the saide Councell established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for the plantinge ruling, ordering and governing of Newe England in America, have by their Deede indented vnder their Common Seale bearing Date the Nyneteenth day of March last past in the[1] Third yeare of our Raigne given graunted bargained soulde, enfeoffed, aliened, and confirmed to Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John young Knightes Thomas Southcott John Humfrey, John Endecott, and Symon Whetcombe their heires and assignes and their Associates for ever,[2] All that parte of Newe England in

[1] Patent Roll: "the" inserted above the line.

[2] Winthrop Ms. reads: "theire heires and Associates for ever." Endecott Duplicate reads: "theire theire."

Obverse and Reverse of the Second Great Seal of Charles I

1627 – 1640

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America aforesaid which lyes and extendes betweene a greate River there commonlie called Monomack alias Merriemack and a certen other River there called Charles River being in the Bottome of a certayne Bay there commonlie called Massachusetts alias Mattachusetts alias Massatusetts[3] Bay. And also all and singuler those landes and hereditamentes whatsoever lyeing within the space of three English Myles on the South parte of the saide Charles River, or of any, or everie parte thereof, And also all and singuler the landes and hereditamentes whatsoever lyeing and being within the space of three English Myles to the Southwarde of the Southermost parte of the saide Bay called Massachusetts alias Mattachusets alias Massatusets Bay. And also all those landes and hereditamentes whatsoever which lye and be within the space of three English Myles to the Northward of the saide River called Monomack alias Merrymack or to the Northward of any and every parte thereof. And all landes and hereditamentes whatsoever lyeing within the lymyttes aforesaide North and South in latitude and bredth, and in length and longitude of and within all the bredth aforesaide throughout the mayne landes there from the Atlantick and westerne Sea and Ocean on the East parte, to the South Sea on the west parte, And all landes and groundes, place and places, soyles woodes and wood groundes, havens, Portes, Rivers waters, Fishinges and hereditamentes whatsoever, lyeing within the said Boundes and lymmyttes and everie parte and parcell thereof. And also all Islandes lyeing in America aforesaide in the saide Seas or either of them, on the westerne or Easterne Coastes or partes of the saide Tractes of lande by the saide Indenture mencioned to be given graunted, bargained, sould enfeoffed aliened and confirmed or any of them, And also all Mynes and Myneralls aswell royall Mynes of Gould and Silver, as other Mynes and Myneralls whatsoever in the saide landes and premisses or any parte thereof, And all Jurisdiccions Rightes Royalties Liberties Freedommes ymmunities priviledges Franchises preheminences and commodities whatsoever which they the saide Councell established at Plymouth in the County of Devon for the planting ruling ordering

[3] Winthrop Ms.: " alias Mattatusets," inserted above.

and governing of Newe England in America then had or might vse exercise or enioy in or within the saide landes and premisses by the saide Indenture mencioned to be given graunted bargained sould, enfeoffed and confirmed, or in, or within any parte or parcel thereof. *To have* and to hould the saide parte of Newe England in America which lyes and extendes and is abutted as aforesaide, and every parte and parcell thereof, And all the saide Islandes, Rivers Portes, havens, waters, Fishinges, Mynes, Mineralls Jurisdiccions, Franchises Royalties liberties priviledges commodities, hereditamentes and premisses whatsoever with the appurtenances vnto the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe their heires and Assignes and their Associates, To the onlie proper and absolute vse and behoofe of the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Symon Whettcombe their heires and assignes and their Associattes for evermore. *To be houlden* of vs our heires and successors as of our Mannor of Eastgreenewich in the County of Kent, in free and common Soccage, and not in Capite, nor by Knightes service. *Yeilding* and payeing therefore vnto vs our heires and successors the fifte parte of the oare of Goulde and Silver which shall from tyme to tyme, and [4] all tymes hereafter happen to be founde, gotten, had, and obteyned in any of the saide landes within the saide lymyttes, or in or within any parte thereof, for and in satisfaccion of all manner duties demaunds and services whatsoever, to be donn made or paid to vs our heires or successors, As in and by the said recited Indenture more at large maie [5] appeare. *Nowe* knowe yee That wee at the humble suite and peticion of the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe and of others whome they have associated vnto them, *Have* for divers good causes and consideracions vs moveing graunted and confirmed, And by theis present of our especiall grace, certen knowledge and meere mocion doe graunt and confirme vnto the saide Sir

[4] Patent Roll and Endecott Duplicate: " at " follows " and."
[5] Patent Roll: " may," inserted above the line.

Henry Rosewell Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe, and to their Associattes hereafter named (videlicet) Sir Richard Saltonstall knight, Isaack Johnson, Samuel Aldersey John Ven, Mathew Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Perry, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion and George Foxcrofte their heires and assignes, All the saide parte of Newe England in America, lyeing and extending betweene the Boundes and Lymittes in the said recited Indenture expressed, and all landes and groundes place and places, soyles woodes and woodgroundes, Havens Portes Rivers, waters, Mynes, Mineralls, Jurisdiccions rights, Royalties, liberties, freedommes, Immunities priviledges Franchises preheminences hereditamentes,[6] and commodities whatsoever to them the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott and Simon Whetcombe, their heires and assignes and to their Associattes by the saide recited Indenture given graunted bargayned solde enfeoffed aliened and confirmed or mencioned or intended thereby to be given graunted bargayned sold, enfeoffed aliened and confirmed. ***To have*** and to houlde the saide Parte of Newe England in America, and other the premisses hereby mencioned to be graunted and confirmed and every parte and parcell thereof with the appurtenances to the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Yonge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven Mathewe Cradocke, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion and George Foxcrofte their heires and assignes for ever, To theire onlie proper and absolute vse and behoofe for evermore. To be holden of vs our heires and successors as of our Mannor of Eastgreenewich aforesaid in free and common

[6] Patent Roll omits all the text from "hereditamentes" to "bargayned."

Socage, and not in Capite nor by knightes service. *And also yeilding* and paying therefore to vs our heires and successors the fifte parte onlie of all Oare of Gould and Silver, which from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes hereafter, shalbe there gotten had or [7] obteyned, for all services exaccions and demaundes whatsoever, according to the Tenure and reservacion in the said recited Indenture expressed. *And further* knowe yee That of our more especiall grace certen knowledg, and meere mocion, Wee have given and graunted, And by theis presentes doe for vs our heires and successors give and graunte vnto the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott John Humfrey John Endecott Symon Whetcombe, Isaac Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, increase Nowell Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel Wright, Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion and George Foxcrofte their heires and assignes All that parte of Newe England in America which lyes and extendes betweene a greate River there comonlie called Monomack River, alias Merrymack River, and a certen other River there called Charles River, being in the Bottome of a certen Bay there commonlie called Massachusetts alias Mattachusetts, alias Massatusetts Bay. And also all and singuler those landes and hereditamentes whatsoever lyeing within the space of Three Englishe Myles on the South Parte [2] of the saide River called Charles River, or of any or every parte thereof, And also all and singuler the landes and hereditamentes whatsoever lyeing and being within the space of three Englishe Myles to the Southward of the Southermost parte of the said Baye called Massachusetts alias Mattachusetts alias Massatusetts Bay. And also all those landes and hereditamentes whatsoever which lye and be within the space of three English Myles to the Northward of the saide River called Monomack alias Merrymack, or to the Norward of any and every parte thereof, and all landes and hereditamentes whatsoever lyeing within the lymmittes aforesaid North and South in latitude

[7] Endecott Duplicate: "and."

and bredth and in length and longitude of and within all the bredth aforesaide. throughout the mayne landes there from the Atlantick and westerne Sea and Ocean on the East parte, to the South Sea on the west parte And all landes and groundes, place, and places, soyles, woodes, and woodgroundes, havens portes Rivers waters and hereditamentes whatsoever lyeing within the said Boundes and Lymmyttes,[8] and every parte and parcell thereof, And also all Islandes in America aforesaide in the saide Seas, or either of them, on the westerne or Easterne Coastes, or partes of the saide Tractes of landes hereby mencioned to be given and graunted, or any of them, And all Mynes and Myneralls, aswell royall Mynes of Gould and Silver, as other Mynes and Myneralls whatsoever in the said landes and premisses or any parte thereof, and free libertie of fishing in or within any the Rivers or waters within the Boundes and Lymmyttes aforesaid, and the Seas therevnto adioyning, And all Fishes, royall fishes, Whales, Balan Sturgions, and other fishes of what kinde or nature soever that shall at any time hereafter be taken in, or within the saide Seas or waters or any of them by the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon whetcombe Isaack Johnson Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Noell, Richard Pery Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion and George Foxcrofte their heires or [9] assignes, or by any other person or persons whatsoever there inhabiting by them or any of them to be appointed to fishe therein, ***Provided*** alwayes, That yf the said landes Islandes or any other the premisses herein before mencioned, and by theis presentes intended and meant to be graunted were at the tyme of the graunting of the saide former letters Patentes dated the Third day of November in the eighteenth yeare of our said deare Fathers Raigne aforesaide actuallie possessed or inhabited by any other Christian Prince or State, or were within the Boundes

[8] Endecott Duplicate omits "and Lymmyttes."
[9] Winthrop Ms.: "and."

Lymmyttes or Territories of that Southerne Colony then before graunted by our said late Father to be planted by divers of his loveing Subiectes in the South Partes of America, That then this present Graunt shall not extend to any such partes or parcells thereof soe formerly inhabited or lyeing within the Boundes of the Southerne Plantacion as aforesaid, but as to those partes or parcells soe possessed or inhabited by such Christian Prince or State, or being within the Bounders [10] aforesaid, shalbe vtterly voyd, Theis presentes or any thinge therein conteyned to the contrarie notwithstanding ***To have*** and to hould possesse and enioy the saide partes of Newe England in America, which lye, extend, and are abutted as aforesaide, and every parte and parcell thereof, And all the Islandes Rivers Portes Havens Waters Fishinges fishes, Mynes, Myneralls, Jurisdiccions, Franchises, Royalties, Liberties priviledges, commodities and premisses whatsoever with the appurtenances vnto the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell Richard Pery Richard Bellingham, Nathaniel wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall William Pinchion and George Foxcroft, their heires and assignes for ever, To the onlie proper and absolute vse and behoufe of the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott John Humfrey, John Endecott Simon Whetcombe Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradocke, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion and George Foxcrofte their heires and Assignes for evermore. ***To be holden*** of vs our heires and successors as of our Mannor of Eastgreenewich in our Countie of Kent within our Realme of England in free and common Soccage, and not in Capite, nor by Knightes

[10] Endecott Duplicate: "boundes."

Elson Co In Belmont, Mass

Two Sections of the King's Bill showing the Signature of Charles I as retraced and the Docket at the end

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service, And also yeilding and paying therefore to vs our heires and successors the fifte parte onlie of all Oare of Gould and Silver which from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter shalbe there gotten, had or obteyned, for all services exaccions and demaundes whatsoever. *Provided* alwaies, and our expresse will and meaninge is, That onlie one Fifte parte of the Gould and silver Oare abovemencioned in the whole and noe more be reserved or payeable vnto vs, our heires and successors by collour or vertue of theis presentes, The double reservacions or recitalls aforesaid, or any thinge herein conteyned notwithstanding. *And forasmuch* as the good and prosperous successe of the plantacion of the saide partes of Newe England aforesaide intended by the said Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endecott Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion and George Foxcrofte to be speedily sett vpon, cannot but cheifly depend, next vnder the blessing of Almightie God, and the support of our royall authoritie vpon the good government of the same, To the ende that the Affaires and Buyssinesses which from tyme to tyme shall happen and arise concerning the saide landes and the plantation of the same maie be the better mannaged and ordered, *Wee have further* hereby of our especiall grace certen knowledge and meere mocion Given graunted and confirmed, And for vs, our heires and successors Doe give graunt and confirme vnto our saide[11] trustie and welbeloved Subiectes Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Younge, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endicott, Simon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Nowell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne, Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William

[11] Patent Roll omits "saide."

Pinchion and George Foxcrofte, *And* for vs our heires and successors wee will and ordeyne, That the saide Sir Henry Rosewell, Sir John Yong, Sir Richard Saltonstall, Thomas Southcott, John Humfrey, John Endicott, Symon Whetcombe, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey John Ven, Mathewe Cradock, George Harwood, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Richard Bellingham, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Goffe, Thomas Adams, John Browne Samuell Browne, Thomas Hutchins, William Vassall, William Pinchion, and George Foxcrofte, and all such others as shall hereafter be admitted and made free of the Company and Society hereafter mencioned, shall from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes for ever hereafter be by vertue of theis presentes one Body Corporate and Politique in Fact and name, by the name of the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in Newe England, And them by the name of the Governor and Company of the Mattachusetts Bay in Newe England, One Bodie Politique and Corporate in deede fact and name, Wee doe for vs our heires and successors make ordeyne constitute and confirme by theis presentes, And that by that name they shall have perpetuall succession, And that by the same name they and their successors, shall and maie be capeable and enabled aswell to implead, and to be impleaded, and to prosecute demaund and annswere, and be answeared vnto in all and singuler suites, causes, quarrells and accions of what kinde or nature soever, And also to have take possesse acquire and purchase any landes tenementes or hereditamentes or any goodes or chattells, And the same to lease graunt, demise, alien, bargaine sell and dispose of, as other our liege people of this our Realme of England, or any other Corporacion or Body politique of the same maie lawfullie doe, *And further* That the said Governor and Companye and their successors maie have for ever one common Seale to be vsed in all causes and occasions of the said Company, And the same Seale maie alter, chaunge, breake and newe make from tyme to tyme at their pleasures, *And Our* will and pleasure is, And wee doe hereby for vs our heires and Successors ordeyne and graunte, That from henceforth for ever there shalbe one Governor

one Deputy Governor, and eighteene Assistantes of the same [12] Company to be from tyme to tyme constituted elected and chosen out of the Freemen of the saide Company for the tyme being, in such manner and forme as hereafter by theis presentes is expressed, Which said Officers shall applie themselves to take care for the best disposeing and ordering of the generall buysines and affaires of for and concerning the saide landes and premisses hereby mencioned to be graunted, and the Plantacion thereof, and the government of the people there, *And for* the better execucion of our royall pleasure and graunte in this behalf, *wee* doe by theis presentes for vs our heires and successors nominate, ordeyne, make and constitute, our welbeloved the saide Mathewe Cradocke to be the first and present Governor of the said Company And the saide Thomas Goffe to be Deputy Governor of the saide Company, and the saide Sir Richard Saltonstall, Isaack Johnson, Samuell Aldersey, John Ven, John Humfrey, John Endecott Simon Whetcombe, Increase Noell, Richard Pery, Nathaniell Wright, Samuell Vassall, Theophilus Eaton, Thomas Adams, Thomas Hutchins, John Browne George Foxcrofte, William Vassall and William Pinchion to be the present Assistantes of the saide Company, To continue in the saide severall Offices respectivelie for such tyme, and in such manner as in and by theis presentes is hereafter declared and appointed, *And further* wee will, And by theis presentes for vs, our heires and successors Doe ordeyne and graunte That the Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, or in his absence by occasion of sickness or otherwise, the Deputie Governor for the tyme being shall have authoritie from tyme to tyme vpon all occasions to give order for the assembling of the saide Company, and calling them together to consult and advise of the Businesses and Affaires of the saide Company, And that the said Governor Deputie Governor, and Assistantes of the saide Company for the tyme being shall or maie once every Moneth or oftener at their pleasures assemble, and houlde and keepe a Courte or Assemblie of themselves for the better ordering and directing of their Affaires, And that any seaven or more persons of the Assist-

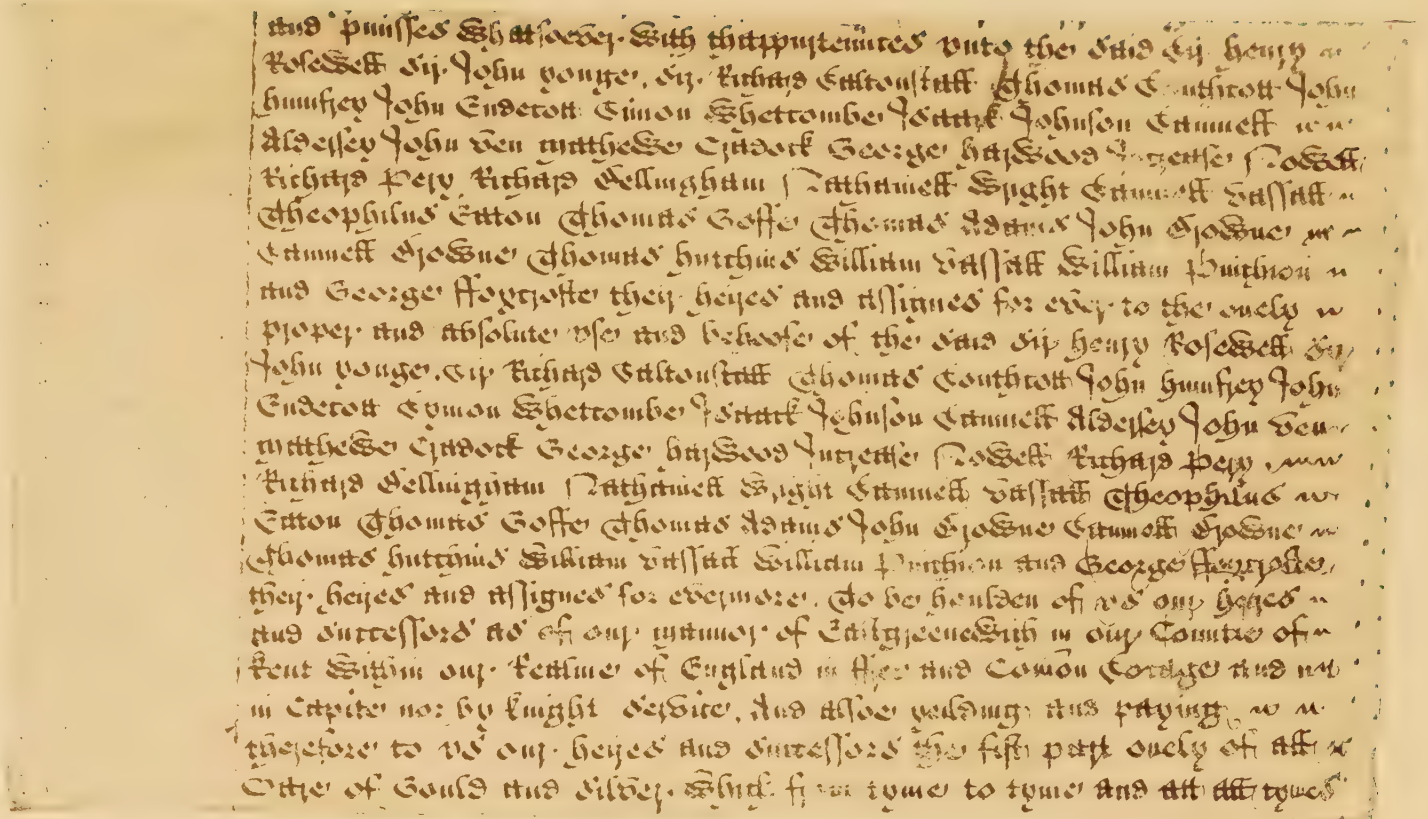
[12] Patent Roll: "saide."

antes togither with the Governor or Deputie Governor soe assembled, shalbe saide, taken, held, and reputed to be, and shalbe a full and sufficient Courte or Assemblie of the saide Company, for [3] the handling ordering and dispatching of all such buysinesses and occurrentes as shall from tyme to tyme happen, touching or concerning the said Company or plantacion, And that there shall or maie be held and kept by the Governor, or Deputie Governor of the said Company, and seaven or more of the said Assistantes for the tyme being vpon every last Wednesday in Hillary, Easter, Trinity, and Michas Termes respectivelie for ever, One greate generall and solempe Assemblie, which foure generall Assemblies shalbe stiled and called the foure greate and generall Courtes of the saide Company, *In* all and every, or any of which saide greate and generall Courtes soe assembled, *wee doe* for vs our heires and successors give and graunte to the saide Governor and Company and their successors, That the Governor, or in his absence, the Deputie Governor of the saide Company for the tyme being, and such of the Assistantes and Freemen of the saide Company as shalbe present, or the greater nomber of them soe assembled, whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor and Six of the Assistantes at the least to be seaven, shall have full power and authoritie to choose nominate and appointe such and soe many others as they shall thinke fitt, and that shall be willing to accept the same, to be free of the said Company and Body, and them into the same to admitt, And to elect and constitute such Officers as they shall thinke fitt and requisite for the ordering mannaging and dispatching of the Affaires of the saide Governor and Company and their successors, And to make lawes and Ordinances for the good and welfare of the saide Company, and for the government and ordering of the saide landes and plantacion, and the people inhabiting and to inhabite the same, as to them from tyme to tyme shalbe thought meete. Soe as such lawes and Ordinances be not contrarie or repugnant to the lawes and statutes of this our Realme of England, *And our will* and pleasure is, And wee doe hereby for vs our heires and successors establish, and ordeyne, That yearely once in the yeare for ever hereafter namely the last Wednesday in Easter Tearme yearely, the Governor Deputy Governor and Assist-

antes of the saide Company, and all other Officers of the saide Company shalbe in the generall Court or Assembly to be held for that day, or tyme newly chosen for the yeare ensueing by such greater parte of the said Company for the tyme being then and there present as is aforesaide, *And yf* it shall happen the present Governor, Deputy Governor, and Assistantes by theis presentes appointed, or such as shall hereafter be newly chosen into their roomes, or any of them, or any other of the Officers to be appointed for the said Company, to dye, or to be removed from his or their severall Offices or places before the saide generall day of eleccion (whome wee doe hereby declare for any misdemeanor or defect to be removeable by the Governor, Deputie Governor Assistantes and Company, or such greater parte of them in any of the publique Courtes to be assembled as is aforesaid) That then and in every such case it shall and maie be lawfull to and for the Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistantes and Company aforesaide, or such greater parte of them soe to be assembled as is aforesaide, in any of their Assemblies to proceade to a newe eleccion of one or more others of their Company in the roome or place, roomes or places of such Officer or Officers soe dyeing or removed, according to their discrecions, And ymmediately vpon and after such eleccion and eleccions made of such Governor, Deputie Governor, Assistant or Assistantes or any other Officer of the saide Company in manner and forme aforesaid the authoritie Office and power before given to the former Governor, Deputie Governor or other Officer and Officers soe removed, in whose steede and place newe shalbe soe chosen, shall as to him and them and everie of them cease and determyne. *Provided* also, and our will and pleasure is, That aswell such as are by theis presentes appointed to be the present Governor Deputie Governor and Assistantes of the said Company as those that shall succeed them, and all other Officers to be appointed and chosen as aforesaid shall before they vndertake the execucion of their saide Offices and places respectivelie take their Corporall oathes for the due and faithfull performance of their duties in their severall Offices and places before such person or persons as are by theis presentes herevnder appointed to take and receive the same (That is

to saie) the saide Mathewe Cradock whoe is hereby nominated and appointed the present Governor of the saide Company shall take the saide oathes before one or more of the Masters of our Courte of Chauncery for the tyme being, Vnto which Master or Masters of the Chauncery wee doe by theis presentes give full power and authoritie to take and administer the saide oathe to the said Governor accordinglie, And after the saide Governor shalbe soe sworne, Then the said Deputy Governor and Assistantes before by theis presentes nominated and appointed, shall take the said severall oathes[13] to their Offices and places respectivelie belonging before the said Mathew Cradock the present Governor soe formerlie sworne as aforesaide, And every such person as shall be at the tyme of the annuall eleccion, or otherwise vpon death or removeall be appointed to be the newe Governor of the said Company shall take the oathes to that place belonging before the Deputy Governor, or two of the Assistantes of the said Company at the least for the tyme being, And the newe elected Deputy Governor and Assistantes, and all other Officers to be hereafter chosen as aforesaide from tyme to tyme to take the oathes to their places respectivelie belonging before the Governor of the said Company for the tyme being, Vnto which said Governor, Deputie Governor and Assistantes, Wee doe by theis presents give full power and authoritie to give and administer the said oathes respectively, according to our true meaning herein before declared, without any Commission or further warrant to be had and obteyned of vs our heires or successors in that behalf, *And wee doe further* of our especiall grace certen knowledge and meere mocion for vs our heires and Successors give and graunte to the said Governor and Company and their Successors for ever by theis presentes, That it shalbe lawfull and free for them and their Assignes at all and every tyme and tymes hereafter out of any our Realmes or Domynions whatsoever, to take, leade carry and transport for, in, and into their voyages, and for and towardes the said Plantacion in Newe England all such and soe many of our loving Subiectes or any other Strangers that will become our loving Subiectes and live vnder our Allegiance as shall willinglie accompany them in the same voyages and

[13] This word is inserted above the line.



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A section of the Patent Roll showing the names of the Patentees

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plantacion, and also Shipping, Armour weapons Ordinance, Municion, Powder, Shott, Corne, Victualls, and all manner of Clothing implementes furniture, Beastes, Cattle, Horses Mares, Marchandizes, and all other thinges necessarie for the saide Plantacion, and for their vse and defence, and for Trade with the people there, and in passing and returning to and fro, Any lawe or statute to the contrarie hereof in any wise notwithstanding And without payeing or yeilding any Custome or Subsidie either inward or outward to vs our heires or successors for the same, by the space of seaven yeares from the day of the Date of theis presentes. *Provided* that none of the saide persons be such as shalbe hereafter by speciall name restrayned by vs our heires or Successors *And* for their further encouragement, Of our especiall grace and favor, wee doe by theis presentes for vs our heires and successors yeild and graunt to the saide Governor and Company and their successors and every of them their Factors and Assignes, That they and every of them shalbe free and quitt from all Taxes Subsidies and Customes in Newe England for the like space of seaven yeares, and from all Taxes and Imposicions for the space of twenty and one yeares vpon all goodes and Merchandizes at any tyme or tymes hereafter, either vpon Importacion thither, or exportacion from thence into our Realme of England, or into any other our Dominions by the said Governor and Company and their successors their Deputies Factors and Assignes, or any of them, *Except* onlie the five poundes per Centum due for Custome vpon all such goodes and merchandizes as after the saide seaven yeares shalbe expired, shalbe brought or imported into our Realme of England, or any other of our Dominions according to the auncient Trade of Merchantes Which five poundes per Centum onlie being paide, It shall be thenceforth lawfull and free for the said Adventurers the same goodes and merchandizes to export and carry out of our said Domynions into forraine partes, without any Custome, Tax or other Dutie to be paid to vs, our heires or successors, or to any other Officers or Ministers of vs [14] our heires and successors, *Provided* that the said goodes and Merchandizes be shipped out within thirteene Monethes after their first landing within any

[14] This word is inserted above the line.

parte of the saide Domynions, *And wee doe* for vs our heires and successors give and graunte vnto the saide Governor and Company and their successors That whensoever, or soe often, as any Custome or Subsedie shall growe due or payeable vnto vs our heires or [15] successors, according to the lymmittacion and appointment aforesaide, by reason of any goodes, wares or merchandizes to be shipped out, or any retorne to be made of any goodes wares or merchandize vnto or from the said partes of Newe England hereby mencioned to be graunted as aforesaide, or any the landes or Territories aforesaide, That then and soe often, and in such case the Farmors Customers and Officers of our Custommes of England and Ireland and everie of them for the tyme being, vpon Request made to them by the saide Governor and Company or their successors Factors or Assignes, and vpon convenient Security to be given in that behalf, shall give and allowe vnto the said Governor and Company and their Successors, and to all and everie person and persons free of that Company as aforesaide Six Moneths tyme for the payment of the one halfe of all such Custommе and Subsidy as shalbe due and payeable vnto vs our heires and successors for the same, For which theis our Letters Patentes or the duplicate or the Inrollment thereof shalbe vnto our saide Officers a sufficient Warrant and Discharge. *Nevertheles* our will and pleasure is, That yf any of the saide goodes wares and merchandize which be, or shalbe at any tyme hereafter landed or exported out of any of our Realmes aforesaide and shalbe shipped with a purpose not to be carried to the Partes of Newe England aforesaide but to some other place, That then such payment, Dutie, Custome, Imposicion or forfeyture shalbe payed or belonge to vs our heires and successors for the said goodes wares and Merchandize soe fraudulently sought to be transported, as yf this our Graunte had not been made nor graunted. *And wee doe* further will, And by theis presentes for vs our heires and successors firmely enioyne and commaunde as well the Treasorer, Chauncellor and Barons of the Exchequer of vs our heires and successors, As also all and singuler the customers, Farmors and Collectors of the Customes Subsidies and Imposts and other the Officers and

[15] Endecott Duplicate and Signet Bill real: "and."

Ministers of vs our heires and successors whatsoever for the tyme being, That they and every of them vpon the shewing forth vnto them of theis letters Patentes, or the Duplicate or Exemplificacion of the same, without any other writt or warrant whatsoever from vs our heires or successors, to be obteyned or sued forth, doe, and shall make full whole, entire, and due Allowaunce and cleare Discharge vnto the saide Governor and Company and their successors of all Custommes subsidies, Imposicions, Taxes and Duties whatsoever, that shall or maie be claymed by vs our heires and [16] successors, of or from the said Governor and Company and their successors for or by reason of the said Goodes, Chattells, Wares, Merchandizes and premisses to be exported out of our saide [4] Domynions, or any of them into any parte of the saide landes or premisses hereby mencioned to be given graunted and confirmed, or for, or by reason of any of the saide goodes Chattells, wares, or Merchandizes to be imported, from the said landes and premisses hereby mencioned to be given graunted and confirmed into any of our saide Dominions, or any parte thereof as aforesaide, excepting onlie the saide five poundes per Centum hereby reserved and payeable after the expiracion of the saide Terme of Seaven yeares as aforesaid, and not before, And theis our letters Patentes or the Inrollment Duplicate or Exemplificacion of the same shalbe for ever hereafter from time to tyme, aswell to the Tresorer Chauncellor and Barons of the Exchequer of vs our heires and successors, as to all and singuler the Customers Farmors and Collectors of the Customes Subsidies and Impostes of vs our heires and Successors, and all Searchers and other the Officers and Ministers whatsoever of vs our heires and successors for the time being a sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. *And further* our will and pleasure is, And wee doe hereby for vs our heires and successors ordeyne declare and graunte to the saide Governor and Company and their successors, That all and every the Subiectes of vs our heires or successors which shall goe to, and inhabite within the saide landes and premisses hereby mencioned to be graunted and every of their Children which shall happen to be borne there, or on the Seas in goeing thither, or retorning

[16] King's Bill and Signet Bill read: "or."

from thence, shall have and enioy all liberties and Immunities of free and naturall Subiectes within any of the Domynions of vs our heires or Successors to all intentes construccions and purposes whatsoever, as yf they and everie of them were borne within the Realme of England, And that the Governor and Deputie Governor of the said Company for the tyme being or either of them, and any two or more of such of the saide Assistantes, as shalbe therevnto appointed by the saide Governor and Company at any of their Courtes or Assemblies to be held as aforesaide, shall and maie att all tymes, and from tyme to tyme hereafter have full power and authoritie to minister and give the oathe and oathes of Supremacie and Allegiance or either of them to all and everie person and persons which shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter goe or passe to the landes and premisses hereby mencioned to be graunted to inhabite in the same. *And* wee doe of our further grace, certen knowledg and meere mocion give and graunt to the saide Governor and Company and their Successors, That it shall and maie be lawful to and for the Governor or Deputie Governor and such of the Assistantes and Freemen of the said Company for the tyme being as shalbe assembled in any of their generall Courtes aforesaide, or in any other Courtes to be specially summoned and assembled for that purpose, or the greater parte of them (whereof the Governor or Deputie Governor, and [17] Six of the Assistantes to be alwaies seaven) from tyme to tyme to make ordeine and establishe all manner of wholesome and reasonable Orders, Lawes, Statutes and Ordinances, Direccions and Instruccions not contrarie to the Lawes of this our Realme of England, aswell for setling of the formes and Ceremonies of Government and Magistracy fitt and necessary for the said Plantacion and the Inhabitantes there, and for nameing and stiling of all sortes of Officers both superior and inferior which they shall finde needefull for that Governement and Plantacion, and the distinguishing, and setting forth of the severall duties powers and lymmyttes of every such Office and place, and the formes of such oathes warrantable by the lawes and statutes of this our Realme of England, as shalbe respectivelie ministred vnto them for the

[17] Patent Roll has "or any," instead of "and."

execucion of the said severall Offices and places, as also for the disposing and ordering of the Eleccions of such of the said Officers as shalbe annuall, and of such others as shalbe to succeede in case of death or removeall, and ministring the said Oathes to the newe elected Officers and for Imposicions of lawfull fynes, mulctes imprisonment or other lawfull Correccion, according to the course of other Corporacions in this our Realme of England, and for the directing ruling and disposeing of all other matters and thinges whereby our said people Inhabitantes there maie be soe religiously, peaceablie and civilly governed, as their good life and orderlie conversacion maie wynn and incite the Natives of [18] Country to the knowledg and obedience of the onlie true God and Savior of Mankinde, and the Christian fayth, which in our royall intencion and the Adventurers free profession is the principall ende of this Plantacion. *Willing* Commaunding and requiring And by theis presentes for vs our heires and successors ordeyning and appointing, That all such [19] orders lawes statutes and ordinances, Instruccions and direccions as shalbe soe made by the Governor, or Deputie Governor of the said Company and such of the Assistantes and Freemen as aforesaide, and published in writing vnder their common Seale, shalbe carefullie and dulie observed kept performed, and putt in execucion according to the true intent and meaning of the same. And theis our letters patentes or the Duplicate or Exemplificacion thereof, shalbe to all and everie such Officers superior and inferior from tyme to tyme for the putting of the same Orders lawes, statutes, and ordinances Instruccions, and Direccions in due execucion against vs our heires and successors a sufficient warrant and Discharge *And wee doe* further for vs our heires and successors give and graunt to the said Governor and Company and their Successors by theis presentes, That all and everie such cheife Commaunders Captaines, Governors and other Officers and Ministers, as by the said Orders, Lawes, Statutes, Ordinances, Instruccions or Direccions of the said Governor and Company for the tyme being, shalbe from tyme to tyme hereafter ymploied either

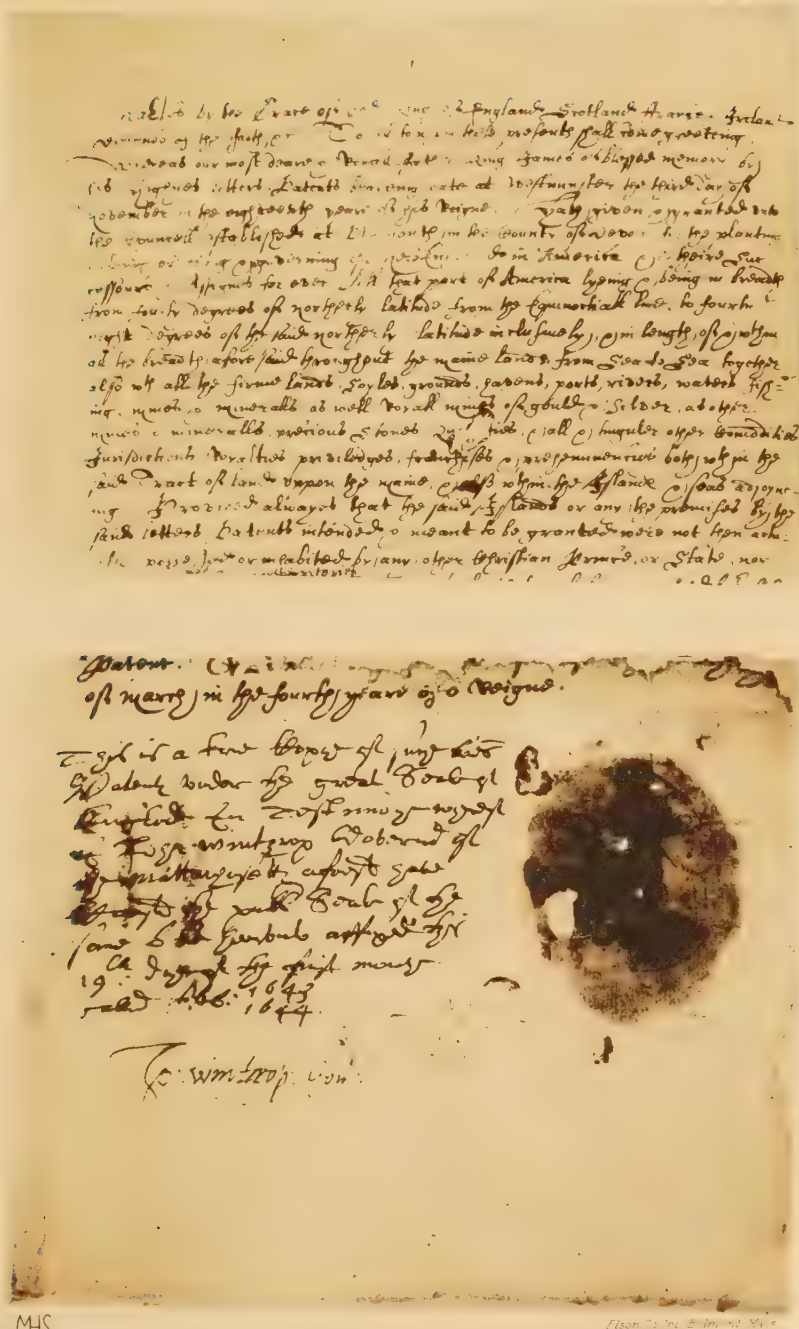
[18] In all records except the Charter and the Winthrop Ms. " the " precedes " Country."

[19] The one word " such " is inserted above the line.

in the government of the saide Inhabitantes and Plantacion, or in the waye by Sea thither, or from thence according to the natures and lymmyttes of their Offices and places respectively shall from tyme to tyme hereafter for ever within the precinctes and Partes of Newe England hereby mencioned to be graunted and confirmed, or in the waie by Sea thither, or from thence,[20] have full and absolute power and authoritie to correct punishe pardon governe and rule all such the Subiectes of vs our heires and successors as shall from tyme to tyme adventure themselves in any voyadge thither or from thence, or that shall at any tyme hereafter inhabite within the precinctes and partes of Newe England aforesaid, according to the orders, lawes, Ordinances Instruccions and direccions aforesaid, not being repugnant to the lawes and statutes of our Realme of England as aforesaid. *And wee doe* further for vs our heires and Successors give and graunte to the said Governor and Company and their Successors by theis presentes That it shall and maie be lawfull to and for the cheife Commaunders Governors and Officers of the said Company for the time being who shalbe resident in the said parte of Newe England in America by theis presentes graunted, and others there inhabiting by their appointment and direccion from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter for their speciall defence and safety to encounter expulse, repell and resist by force of Armes aswell by Sea as by lande, and by all fitting waies and meanes whatsoever all such person and persons as shall at any tyme hereafter attempt or enterprise the distruccion, Invasion, detriment or annoyaunce to the said Plantation or Inhabitantes,[21] And to take and surprise by all waies and meanes whatsoever all and every such person and persons with their Shippes Armour municion, and other goodes as shall in hostile manner invade or attempt the defeating of the said Plantacion, or the hurt of the said Company and inhabitantes. *Nevertheles* our will and pleasure is, And wee doe hereby declare to all Christian Kinges Princes and States, That yf any person or persons which shall hereafter be of the said Company or plantacion, or any other by

[20] Patent Roll: "home" follows "thence."

[21] Signet Bill, King's Bill, and Endecott Duplicate read: "Inhabitantes or Plantacion."



MHS

Two Sections of Winthrop's Copy of the Charter the end bearing a Fragment of the Earliest Known Impression of the Colony Seal

lycence or appointment of the said Governor and Company for the tyme being shall at any tyme or tymes hereafter robb or spoyle by Sea or by land, or doe any hurt violence or vnlawfull hostilitie to any of the Subiectes of vs our heires or successors, or any of the Subiectes of any Prince or State being then in league and amytie with vs our heires and successors, and that vpon such Iniury don,[22] and vpon iust Complaint of such Prince or State or their Subiectes, *Wee* our heires or Successors shall make open Proclamacion within any of the Partes within our Realme of England commodious for that purpose, That the person or persons haveing committed any such Roberie or spoyle, shall within the Terme lymmytted by such a proclamacion make full restitucion or satisfaccion of all such Iniuries don, soe as the said Princes or others soe complayning maie hould themselves fullie satisfied and contented, And that yf the said person or persons haveing committed such Robbery or spoile shall not make or cause to be made satisfaccion accordinglie within such tyme soe to be lymmytted, That then it shalbe lawfull for vs our heires and [23] Successors to putt the said person or persons [24] out of our Allegiance and Proteccion, And that it shalbe lawful and free for all Princes to prosecute with hostilitie the said Offendors and every of them, their, and every of their Procurers, ayders, abettors and Comforters in that behalf. *Provided* also, and our expresse will and pleasure is, And wee doe by theis presentes for vs our heires and successors ordeyne and appoint, That theis presentes shall not in any manner envre or be taken to abridge barr or hinder any of our loving subiectes whatsoever to vse and exercise the Trade of Fishing vpon that Coast of New England in America by these presentes mencioned to be graunted, But that they and every or any of them shall have full and free power and liberty to continue and vse their said Trade of Fishing vpon the said Coast in any the Seas therevnto adioyning, or any Armes of the Seas or Saltwater Rivers where they have byn wont to Fishe, and to build and sett vp vpon the landes by theis presentes graunted such wharfes, Stages, and workehouses

[22] Patent Roll omits "such Iniury don, and vpon."
[23] Endecott Duplicate: "or."
[24] Two words: "or persons" inserted above line.

as shalbe necessarie for the salting drying, keeping and packing vp of their Fish, to be taken or gotten vpon that Coast, And to cutt downe, and take such Trees and other materialls there groweing, or being or shalbe needefull for that purpose, and for all other necessarie Easementes, helpes, and advantage concerning their said Trade of Fishing there in such manner and forme as they have byn, heretofore at any tyme accustommed to doe, without making any wilful waste or spoyle, Any thing in theis presentes conteyned to the contrarie notwithstanding. *And wee doe* further for vs our heires and successors ordeyne and graunte to the said Governor and Company and their Successors by theis presentes, That theis our letters Patentes shalbe firme, good, effectuall and availeable in all thinges, and to all intentes and construccions of lawe, according to our true meaning herein before declared and shalbe construed reputed and adiudged in all cases most favourablie on the behalf and for the benefitt and behoofe of the saide Governor and Company and their Successors, *Although* expresse mencion [25] of the true yearely value or certenty of the premisses or of [26] any of them, or of any other guiftes or grauntes by vs or any of our Progenitors or Predecessors to the foresaid [27] Governor or [28] Company [29] before this time made in theis presentes is not made, Or any Statute Acte Ordinance Provision proclamacion or Restrainte to the contrarie thereof heretofore had made published [30] ordeyned or provided or any other matter cause or thinge [31] whatsoever to the contrarie thereof [32] in any wise notwithstanding. *In witness* whereof wee have caused theis our letters to be

[25] Signet Bill and Patent Roll, from this point on, read: "etc. In Witness Whereof etc. Witness our Selfe at Westminster the Fowerth day of March. Per breve de privato Sigillo." King's Bill reads: "etc. In Witnes whereof etc. Witnes etc. Examinatur per Ri. Shilton." Signet Bill concludes as follows: "And these our lettres shalbe your sufficient warrant in this behalf. Given under our Signet at our Pallace of Westminster the Seaven and twentieth daie of Februarie, in the Fourth yeare of our Raigne."

[26] Endecott Duplicate omits "of."

[27] Endecott Duplicate: "said."

[28] Endecott Duplicate: "and."

[29] Endecott Duplicate adds "and theire Successors."

[30] Endecott Duplicate: "sett forth" instead of "published."

[31] Endecott Duplicate: "thing matter or cause."

[32] Endecott Duplicate omits "to the contrarie thereof."

made Patentes. *Witnes* our self at Westminster the Fourth Day of March, in the Fourth yeare of our Raigne.

per Breve de privato Sigillo.[33]

WOLSELEY.

[34] PRÆDICT Matthæus Cradocke Juratus est de Fide et Obedientia Regi et Successoribus suis et de Debita Exequutione Officij Gubernatoris iuxta Tenorem Presentium 18° Martij 1628: Coram me Carolo Cæsare Milite in Cancellaria Mr̃o.

CHAR. CÆSAR

A perpetuity graunted to Sir Henry Rosewell and others of parte of Newe England in America.

WOLSELEY.

[33] Endecott Duplicate adds "Dupl."

[34] All that follows is in the handwriting of Caesar and Wolseley, and is found only on the Original Charter.

THE AGREEMENT AT CAMBRIDGE

"General Laws"
1672

Mathers "Indian War"
1676

Leverett Certificate
1676

Braidstreet Commission
1680

Cuts and Impressions of Early Seals
of the Colony

THE AGREEMENT AT CAMBRIDGE

AT a General Court of the "Mattachusetts Bay, in New England," held in London, on Tuesday, July 28, 1629, at the residence of Mr. Thomas Goff, Deputy-Governor, the last business to be dealt with were certain propositions read by the Governor, Matthew Cradock, — "conceived by himself," so the record has it.[1] These propositions concerned nothing less than the transfer of the government of the Company, together with the Charter, to New England. This innovation in the management of joint-stock colonial enterprises had for its purpose the "advancement of the plantation, [and] the inducing and encouraging of persons of worth and quality [to] transplant themselves and families thither."

This business, it is interesting to remember, "occasioned some debate" and because of its importance was not settled at once but was postponed to the next General Court. Those present were enjoined, meanwhile, to think over the propositions "privately and seriously," to set down their reasons pro and con in writing for the next meeting, where these would be "reduced to heads, and maturely considered of," in reaching a final decision. A further injunction is significant: those present were "desired to carry this business secretly, that the same be not divulged."

During the month of warning for all those interested, twelve gentlemen met at Cambridge on Wednesday, August 26, and drew up and signed the agreement given below. This agreement was not only contingent on Mr. Cradock's propositions being passed at the next General Court; it probably decided the result. Yet of these twelve names, six (including that of John Winthrop) are not to be found among the twenty-six listed in the Charter. Of these six new men among the signers, two did not come over to New England.

On the following Friday, August 28, and Saturday, August

[1] *Records of Massachusetts* (1853) I, 49.

29, the General Court met at the house of Mr. Goff again, Governor Cradock being absent from both meetings. The only business considered was that of the removal of the Charter into New England — first proposed a month before. The parties of both pro and con were ordered to call to their aid their friends "whether they were of the Company or not" and prepare their respective cases for a conference at seven the next morning. At nine the General Court was to meet and decide. Sir Richard Saltonstall, Mr. Johnson, and Captain Venn headed the committee of pros; Mr. Wright, Mr. Eaton, Mr. Adams, and Mr. Spurstowe were to represent the cons.

The committees met that very afternoon and prepared their cases. At seven the next morning, as announced, the discussion began, "many of the Assistants and generality" looking on; "and after a long debate, Mr. Deputy put it to the question, as followeth:

As many of you as desire to have the patent and the government of the plantation to be transferred to New England, so as it may be done legally, hold up your hands: So many as will not, hold up your hands."[2] Two facts are worthy of notice: first, the proposition for the transfer carried "by the general consent of the Company," and second, at the time the vote was taken, the question of the legality of the action proposed had not been settled. According to a proviso of the agreement this matter of law had to be settled before the end of September, if the pledge were to remain binding on the signers. The "debate," then, must have turned only on the question of expediency.

This text of "The Agreement at Cambridge" was taken from an early copy of the original in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This manuscript is in the same handwriting as the *True Relacion* of Higginson, with which it is bound; both were used by Hutchinson as the basis of his texts in *A Collection of Original Papers Relative to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay* (Boston, 1769), 25–26, and 32–46. Young printed[3] the Agreement, appar-

[2] *Records of Massachusetts* I, 51.

[3] Alexander Young, *Chronicles of the First Planters of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1846), 281–282. See his notes, 283.

ently using the same manuscript. Of the last sentence he remarks: "This seems to have been a note interpolated after the paper was signed."

The True Coppie of the Agreement of Cambridge [August. 26. 1629.]

Vpon due consideracion of the state of the plantacion now in hand for new England, wherein wee (whose names are hervnto subscribed) haue ingaged ourselves: and having weighed the greatnes of the worke in regard of the consequence, Gods glory and the churches good: As also in regard of the difficultyes and discouragements which in all probabilityes must be forcast vpon the prosecucion of this businesse: Considering withall that this whole adventure growes vpon the joynt confidence we haue in each others fidelity and resolucion herein, so as no man of vs would haue adventured it without assurance of the rest: Now for the better encouragement of ourselves and others that shall joyne with vs in this action, and to the end that euery man may without scruple dispose of his estate and afayres as may best fitt his preparacion for this voyage, It is fully and faithfully agreed amongst vs, and euery of vs doth hereby freely and sincerely promise and bynd himselfe in the word of a Christian and in the presence of God who is the searcher of all hearts, that we will so really endevour the prosecucion of this worke, as by Gods assistance we will be ready in our persons, and with such of our seuerall familyes as are to go with vs and such provision as we are able conveniently to furnish ourselves withall, to embarke for the said plantacion by the first of march next, at such port or ports of this land as shall be agreed vpon by the Company, to the end to passe the Seas (vnder Gods protection) to inhabite and continue in new England. Provided, alwayes that before the last of September next the whole gouernment together with the Patent for the said plantacion bee first by an order of Court legally transferred and established to remayne with vs and others which shall inhabite vpon the said plantacion. And provided also that if any shall be hindered by such just and inevitable Lett or other cause to be allowed by 3 parts of

foure of these whose names are herevnto subscribed, then such persons for such tymes and during such letts to be dischardged of this bond. And we do further promise euery one for himselfe that shall fayle to be ready through his owne default by the day appointed, to pay for euery dayes default the summe of 3 *l* to the vse of the rest of the Company who shall be ready by the same day and tyme.

This was done by order of Court the 29th of August. 1629.[5]

Rich: Saltonstall.
Tho: Dudley
William Vassall
Nicko: West.[6]
Isaack Johnson
John Humfray
Tho: Sharp
Increase Nowell

John Winthrop[7]
Will: Pinchon
Kellam Browne[6]
William Colbron.

[5] This last sentence was inserted later.

[6] Young notes: "West and Browne never came over to the Colony, and nothing is known concerning them."

[7] This is the first appearance of the signature of John Winthrop in the history of the Colony.

HIGGINSON'S JOURNAL

OF HIS

VOYAGE TO NEW ENGLAND

HIGGINSON'S JOURNAL OF HIS VOYAGE TO NEW-ENGLAND.

FRANCIS HIGGINSON (Higgerson, Higgeson, or Higgonson, as it was variously spelled) was a clergyman who came over to New England in 1629 in one of a fleet of five ships, the second expedition sent out by the Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. His *True Relacion* and *New-England's Plantation,* which follows, are of exceptional interest, both, the first for comparison with that of Winthrop, the second as an early description of the Bay Colony comparable with Thomas Dudley's *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln.*

Higginson was born in 1588 and educated at Jesus College, Cambridge, where he took his first degree in 1609. He was ordained and admitted to holy orders by Toby Mathew, Archbishop of York, in September and December, 1614. On April 4, 1616, he resigned the rectory of Barton-in-Farbis, Nottinghamshire, after less than a year's tenure, during which he performed none of the duties and got none of the fruits.[1] Having become a Nonconformist, he was without hope of advancement, or comfort, and accepted the invitation to go out to New England, where he died at Salem in August, 1630. He left a wife, who emigrated to Charlestown and then to New Haven, where she died in 1640; and eight children, seven of them sons, one of whom is said to have become captain of a vessel of war in Cromwell's day.[2]

On March 19, 1628, the Council of Plymouth sold the territory of Massachusetts Bay to six purchasers, of whom John Endecott was one. Endecott crossed in the *Abigail* with twenty or thirty settlers, arriving at Salem in September, 1628. Still styled "Captain," Endecott was agent for the organizers of the London Plantation at Salem. On February 27, 1629, the grant of the Council for New England was confirmed by the Crown, and the Governor and Company of the Massa-

[1] *N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.,* LII, 348.

[2] Savage, *Genealogical Dictionary,* II, 413.

chusetts Bay in America, incorporated.[3] On March 4, 1628-29, the Royal Charter passed the seals, and Cradock took his oath as Governor, having been recorded as such first on March 2, 1628/29.[4] Endecott was appointed governor of the Plantation at Salem, April 30, 1629,[5] and received the duplicate of the Charter and the silver seal of the Company at Salem on Tuesday, June 23, from the hands of Samuel Sharpe. The fleet, in one of the ships of which Higginson came, was the second expedition sent out by the Massachusetts Bay Company, the third of which, consisting of sixteen vessels and over 900 colonists, brought over Winthrop and his friends.

Most of the following text is printed literally from a very old copy of the original, the copy which was used both by Hutchinson and Young and is now in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. This copy is, however, incomplete. From the point at which it breaks off the text of Hutchinson is used. Readers of the Journal who are interested in the ships mentioned will find the study Mr. R. G. Marsden communicated to the Royal Historical Society in 1905, of great interest.[6] The mere fact that over three hundred ships of the period 1603–1625 bore one of a group of thirteen popular names, will, perhaps, account for occasional confusion and the difficulties of accurate identification.

This Journal was written at Salem, July 24, 1629, and was probably sent back to England at the time of the return of the *Lion's Whelp* and *Talbot,* the latter the ship in which Higginson crossed. Both these vessels got home before September 19 of that year.[7]

There is a good life of Higginson by one of his many distinguished descendants, Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

[3] *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series,* (London, 1860) I, 96.
[4] *Mass. Recs.* I, 27. [5] *Mass. Recs.* I, 361.
[6] R. G. Marsden, "English Ships in the Reign of James I," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* (New Series), XIX, 309–342.
[7] *Mass. Recs.* I, 51.

Higginson's Journal

A true relacion of the last voyage to new England, declaring all circumstances with the maner of the passage wee had by sea, and what maner of countrey and inhabitants we found when we came to land; and what is the present state and condicion of the English people that are there already.

Faithfully recorded according to the very truth for the satisfaction of very many of my loving friends, who haue earnestly requested to be truly certifyed in these thinges.

written from new England July. 24. 1629.

If any Curious Criticke that lookes for exactnes of phrases, or expert seaman that regard propriety of sea termes etc. [2]

A true relacion of the last voyage to new England made the last summer, begun the 25th of April being Saturday. Anno domini 1629.

The company of new England consisting of many worthy gentlemen in the citty of London, dorcester and other places, ayming at the glory of God, the propagacion of the gospell of Christ, the conversion of the Indians, and the enlargement of the Kings ma[jes]ties dominions in America, and being Authorised by his royall letters patents for that end, at their very great costs and chardge furnished 5 ships to go to new England, for the further setling of the English plantacion that they had already begun there.

The names of the 5 shipps were
as followeth.

The first is called the Talbot, a good and strong shipp of 300 tunnes, and 19 pieces of ordinance and served with 30 mariners. This ship carried aboue an 100 planteres, 6 goates, 5 great pieces of ordinaunce, with meale, oate meale pease, and all maner of munition and [3] provision for the plantacion for a twelve moneth.

The second the George, another strong ship also, about 300 tunnes, 20 pieces of ordinance, served with about 30 mariners; her chiefe carriage were cattell, 12 mares, 30 kyne, and some goates: Also shee had in her 52 planters and other provision.

The 3d is called the lyons whelpe, a neate and nimble ship of 120 tunnes, 8 pieces of ordinaunce, carrying in her many mariners and aboue 40 planters, specially from dorcester and other places thereabouts, with provision, and 4 goates.

The 4th is called the 4 Sisters, as I heare of about 300 tuns, which fayre ship carried many cattell with passengers and provision.

The 5th is called the Mayflower, carrying passengers and provision.

Now amongst these 5 ships, the George having some speciall and vrgent cause of hastening her passage [8] sett sayle before the rest about the midst of April. And the 4 Sisters, and the Mayflower being not throughly furnished, intended as we heard to sett forth about 3 weeks after vs: But we that were in the Talbot and Lions whelpe being ready for our voyage

April. 25. by the good [4] hand of Gods providence hoysed vp Sayle from Graues end on Saturday the 25th of April about 7 a clocke in the morning. Having but a faynt wynd we could not go farre that day, but at night wee ancred against Lee

26 which is 12 miles from graues end, and there we rested that night and kept Sabbath the next day.

27 On monday we set forward and came to the flats, a passage somewhat difficult by reason of the narrownes of the channell and shallownes of the water; and going ouer this wee were in some daunger: for our ship being heavy laden and drawing deepe water was sensibly felt of vs all to strike 3 or 4 tymes on the ground: but the wynd blowing somewhat strong we were carried swiftly on, and at last by Gods blessing came safe to ancre at Gorin roade.[9]

28 Teusday we went a little further, and ancred over against: margret Towne, staying for a wind for the downes.

29 wednesday we came safely though with much turning and tacking thorow the gulles [10] into the downes,[11] and stayed that night.

[8] The *George* carried Sharpe with a duplicate of the Charter, the silver seal of the Colony (now lost), and instructions to Endecott to anticipate Oldham in occupying Massachusetts Bay. *Mass. Recs.* I, 396–397.

[9] The Gore, once a common anchorage below Margate.

[10] The Gull Stream, the common track for large ships to the Downs. Goodwin Sands are on the east and Gull Sands on the west.

[11] "Downes," *i.e.* dunes, an anchorage off Deal.

Thursday, fryday and saturday the wind blew hard from south west and caused our ship to daunce, and diuers of our passengers and my wiffe specially were sea sicke. Here the Kings [5] ship called the Assurance pressed 2 of our mariners. Here we saw many Porpuses playing in the sea, which they say is a signe of fowle weather. 30, May. 1. 2.

Sabbath day a windye day and could: we kept sabbath staying still at the downes. May. 3.

Monday God sent vs a fayre gale of wind north; N: East, whereby we came merily from the downes: and passing Dover we saw 6 or 7 saile of dunkirkes,[12] wafting after vs: but it seemed they saw our company was too strong for them, for then wee had with vs 3 or 4 ships that went for the straits: [13] so they returned backe from pursuing vs any longer. But sayling with a good wind wee went speedily, and at night came neere the Ile of wight: but being darke wee durst not put into the channell, but put backe for sea roome 4 houres, and then other 4 houres sayled backe agayne the same way. 4

Tewsday early in the morning we entred the channell the wind being weake and calme, and passed by Portsmouth very slowly; but in the afternoone the wind quickned, and wee were forced to ancre a little on this side Cowcastle,[14] but the wind growing more favourable wee weighed and came to ancre againe right against Cowcastle thinking to stay that night, the wind being very calme. Here I and my wiffe and my daughter [6] Mary, and 2 maids and some others with vs obtained of the master of the shipp to go a shoare to refresh vs and to wash our linnens, and so we lay at Cowes that night. But the wind turning when wee were absent, they hoysed sayle and left vs there, and ancred 8 miles further ouer against Yarmouth about 8 of the clocke at night. 5 May.

Wednesday betyme in the morning the shalope was sent from the shipp to fetch vs to Yarmouth; but the water prooued rough and our weomen desired to bee sett on shoare 3 miles short of Yarmouth, and so went on foote by land and lodged in Yarmouth that night. 6

[12] Dunkirk was then a port in the Spanish Netherlands and England and Spain were at war.

[13] The Straits of Gibraltar.

[14] A small castle at West Cowes built in the reign of Henry VIII.

7. 8. On Thursday and fryday there master Beecher allowed by the company gaue mee 40 s to make our provision of what things we would for the voyage.

9 Saturday we went to board agayne: and this day wee had 2 other men pressed to serve the Kings shippe; but we got one agayne by intreaty.

10 The sabbath next day we kept the shipp, where I preached in the morning; and in the afternoone was intreated to preach at Yarmouth, where mr meare and captayne Borley entertained vs very kyndly, and earnestly desyred to bee certified of our safe arrivall in new England, and of the state of the countrey. [7]

11 Monday morning blew a fayre wind from East S: E: And the lions whelpe having taken in all her provision for passengers, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone wee hoysed sayle for the Needles,[15] and by Gods guidance safely passed that narrow passage a little after 4 a clocke in the afternoone. And being entred into the Sea, from the top of the mast we discerned 4 sayle of shipps lying Southward from vs. But night coming on wee tooke in our long boate and shalope.

12 And the next day we had a fayre gale of Easterly wind that brought vs towards night as farre as the Lizzard.

13 Wednesday the wind still houlding Easterly we came as farre as the lands end, in the vtmost part of Cornewall, and so left our deare natiue soile of England behind vs; and sayling about 10 leagues further we passed the Iles of Sillie and launched the same day a great way into the maine ocean. And now my wiffe and other passengers began to feele the tossing waues of the westerne Sea, and so were very sea-sicke.

And this is to be noted, that all this while our passage hath bene vpon the coast of England, and so ought truly to be accounted the first day of our parting with ould England.

14 Thursday the same Easterly wind blew all day and night; and the next day; so that some of the seamen [8] thought May. we were come by this tyme 100 leagues from England, but toward night the wind was calme.

16 Saturday we were becalmed all day. This day met vs a little shipp of Bristoll that came from Christopher Islande.

17 Sabath being the first Lords day we held at sea was very

[15] At the western extremity of the Isle of Wight.

calme especially in the morning. but we were disturbed in our morning service by the approach of a Biskainers shippe, a man of warre that made towards vs, and manned out his boate to view vs; But fynding vs too strong for him he durst not venture to assault vs, but made off. This day my 2 children Samuel and Mary began to be sicke of the small pockes and purples [16] together, which was brought into the ship by one mister Browne which was sicke of the same at Graues end, whom it pleased God to make the first occasion of bringing that contagious sicknes among vs, wherewith many were after afflicted.

Monday calme still, the wind being no: w: blowing a little towards evening, but contrary to our course. 18

Tewsday wind so: w: as little helpfull as the former and blowing very weake. This day the m[aste]r of our ship, my selfe and another went aboard [9] the Lions whelpe, where mister Gibs made vs welcome with bountifull entertaynement. And this day towards night my daughter grew sicker, and many blew Spots were seene vpon her breast, which affrighted vs. At the first wee thought they had bene the plague tokens; but we found afterwards that it was onely an high measure of the infection of the pockes, which were strucke agayne into the child, and so it was Gods will the child dyed about 6 of the clocke at night, being the first in our shipp that was buried in the bowells of the great Atlanticke Sea; which as it was a griefe to vs her parents, and a terrour to all the rest as being the beginning of a contagious disease and mortality: So in the same judgement it pleased God to remember mercy in that child, in freeing it from a world of misery wherein otherwise shee had liued all her daies. For being about 4 yeares ould a yeare since, wee know not by what meanes, sweyed in the backe, so that it was broken and grew crooked, and the joynts of her hipps were loosed and her knees went crooked, pittifull to see. Since which tyme shee hath had a most lamentable payne in her belly, and would oft times cry out in the day and in her sleep also my belly, which declared some extraordinary distemper. so that in respect of her wee had cause to 19

[16] The popular name of purpura, a pathological condition which often accompanies acute infectious fevers, such as small-pox. *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1929) XVIII, 781.

take her death as a blessing from the Lord to shorten her miserie. [10]

May. 20 Wednesday a wett morning, the wind was W: S: W: and in the afternoone N: W: and by W: both being contrary to our course which was to saile W: and by S: Thus it pleased god to lay his hand vpon vs by sicknes and death and contrary winds; and stirred vp some of vs to make the motion of humbling our selves under the hand of God by keeping a solemne day of fasting and prayer vnto God, to beseech him to remooue the continuance and further increase of these evills from vs. which was willingly condescended vnto as a duty very fitting and needfull for our present state and condicion.

21 Thursday, there being 2 ministers in the ship, mister Smith and my selfe, we endevoured together with others to consecrate the day as a solemne fasting and humiliacion to almighty God, as a furtheraunce of our present worke. And it pleased God the ship was becalmed all day, so that we were freed from any encombraunce; And as soone as we had done prayers, see and behould the goodnes of god, about 7 a clocke at night the wind turned to N: E: and we had a fayre gale that night as a manifest evidence of the Lords hearing our prayers. I heard some of the mariners say, they thought this was the first sea-fast that euer was kept, and that they neuer heard of the like perfourmed at sea before.

22 Fryday the wind fayre, and East northerly, and for our purpose for new England, it did blow [11] strongly and carried vs on a mayne with tossing waues, which did affright them that were not wonted to such sights.

23 Saturday, the same wind blowing but more gently. now we were comforted with hope of my sonne Samuels recouery of the pockes.

24 The 2 Lords day a fayre day, an orderly wind and prosp[er]ous.

25 On monday a fayre frumme [17] gale, the wind South S: W:

26 Tewsday about 10 of the clocke in the morning whilest we were at prayers a strong and sudden blast came from the north: that hoysed vp the waues and tossed vs more then euer

[17] "Frumme" (Murray.) beginning, rising.

before and hold vs all that day till towards night and then abated by little and little till it was calme. This day mister Goffes great dogg fell ouer board and could not be recouered.

wednesday, the wind still no: and calme in the morning, 27
but about noone there arose a So: wind which encreased more and more; so that it seemed to vs that are land men a sore and terrible storme; for the wind blew mightily, the rayne fell vehemently, the sea roared and the waues tossed vs horribly; besides it was fearfull darke and the mariners maid [*sic*] was afraid; and noyse on the other side with their running here and there, lowd crying one to another to pull at this and that rope, [12] The wauves powred thems[elves] ouer May.
the shippe that the 2 boates were filled with water, that they 27.
were fayne to strike holes in the midst of them to let the water out. Yea by the violence of the waues the long boate coard which held it was broken, and it had like to haue bine washed ouer board, had not the mariners with much payne and daunger recoured the same. But this lasted not many [18] houres, after which [19] it became a calmish day. All which while I lay close and warme in my cabine, but farre from having list to sleepe with Jonah; my thoughts were otherwise employed as the tyme and place required. Then I saw [20] the truth of the scripture Psal. 107. from the 23 to the .32. And my feare at this tyme was the lesse, when I remembred what a loving friend of myne, a minister accustomed to sea stormes said to mee that I might not be dismayed at such stormes, for they were ordinary at seas, and it seeldome falls out that a shipp perisheth at storme if it haue sea-roome. which I the rather wayte that others as well as my selfe by the knowledge hereof may be encouraged and prepared ag[ains]t those ordinary sea-stormes.

Thursday So: wind; calme at night: [21] 28

on fryday a boisterous wind blowing crosse, but was allayed 29
towards night with a shower of rayne. Saturday So. w: wind, 30
but faire and quiett. [13]

[18] "Many" is entered in a later hand, possibly Hutchinson's.

[19] "After which" is entered in a later hand, possibly Hutchinson's, over two erasures.

[20] "Saw" is written in above the word "say," which is scratched out.

[21] At this point, "Mr Smiths child of Newton in Lancashire there borne sicke this day," has been struck out.

May. 31 Sabbath day being the 3 lords day, fayre and calme; wee saw abundance of grampas fishes, 2 or 3 yards long, and a body as bigg as an oxe.

June. 1 Monday the wind westerly and calme: but besides our being stayed by contrary winds we began to fynd the temperature of the ayre to alter and to become more soletry and subject to vnwholsome foggs. For comming now to the height of the westerne Ilands, some of our men fell sicke of the Scurvie and others of the [*blank*] Small pockes, which more and more increased: yet thanks be to God none dyed of it but my owne child mencioned. And therefore according to our great need we appointed another fast for the next day.

2 Tewsday we solemnely celebrate another fast. The lord that day heard vs before wee prayed and gaue vs an aunswere before we called: for early in the morning the wind turned full East, being as fitt a wind as could blowe. And sitting at my study on the shippe poope I saw many bouny [*sic*] fishes and porpuses pursuing one another and leaping some of them a yard aboue the water. Also as we were at prayer vnder the hatch, some that were aboue saw a whale puffing vp water not farre from the shippe. Now my wiffe was prettily well recouered of her sea sicknesse.

3 wednesday a fayre day, and fyne gale of full East wind. This day my selfe and others Saw a [14] large round fish June sayling by the ships side, about a yard in length and roundnes euery way. The mariners call it a sunne fish: it spreadeth out the finnes like beames on euery side 4, or 5.

4, 5 Thursday and fryday the wind full E: we were carried with admiracion on our journey. By this wee were more than halfe way to new England. This day I saw a fish very straunge to mee, they call it a caruell; which came by the ship side wafting along the top of the water. it appeared at the first like a bubble. aboue the water . . . as bigg as a mans fist. but the fish it selfe is about the bignes of a mans thum, so that the fish it selfe and the bubble resembleth a shipp with sailes, which therefore is called a caruell.

6 Saturday wind direct E: still.

7 The 4 Sabb: we kept at sea. the wind full full [22] Easterly

[22] The first "full" is the last word of one line, and the second "full" is the first word of the line following.

till noone, and then it came full So: E: a strong gale that night and the next day till night. Tewsday the same wind held till 9 a clock in the morning: and then a great showre which lasted till about 7 at night, and then it was a very calme. Here we sounded with a dipled [23] lyne aboue 100th fadome and found no bottome. This day we saw a fish called a tuckle,[24] a great and large shellfish swimming aboue the water neere the shippe. 8 9

wednesday wind northerly a fyne gale but calmish in the after noone. 10

Thursday the wind at no. an easye gale [15] and fayre morning. we saw a mountayne of yce shyning as white as snow like to a great rocke or clift on the shoare. it stood still and therefore we thought it to be on ground and to reach the bottome of the sea. For though there came a mighty streame from the no: yet it mooued not. which made vs sound, and we found a banke of 40 fathom deepe wherevpon we judged it to rest: and the height aboue was as much. wee also saw 6 or 7 pieces of Ice, floating on the sea, which was broken of from the former mountayne. we also saw great store of water fowle swimming by the shipp within musket shott, of a pyde colour and about the bignes of a wild ducke, about 40 in a company. the mariners call them hagbirds. Toward night came a fogge, that the lions whelp was lost till morning. And now we saw many bony toes [25] porpuses and grampases, euery day more and more. 11 June

Fryday foggie and calmish, the wind northerly in the morning, but about noone it came S: E. a dainty loome gale [26] which carried vs 6 leagues a watch. 12

Saturday the same wind till night, and we saw great store of porpuses and grampases. 13

The 5th sabboth, the same wind, towards noone it began to be foggie, and then it rained [16] till night. we went 4 or 5 leagues a watch. 14

[23] Murray: "dipled": "deep lead," a sounding lead; "dip" obs. deep; "led" obs. lead.

[24] Seamen's pronunciation of "turckell," an archaic form of "turtle."

[25] Young changed Hutchinson's "bony fish" to "bonitos," plural of the name for the striped tunny. The copy reads "bony toes," as above.

[26] A "loom gale," "an easy gale of wind, in which a ship can carry her whole topsails atrip," Murray, citing Smyth, *Sailor's Word-Book* (1867).

June. Monday a fayre day but foggie, the same wind blowing but
15 with fresh gale carried vs 7 leagues a watch. In the afternoone it blew harder, so the sea was rough, and we lost the sight of the lions whelpe: it being foggie we drummed for them, and they shot of a great piece of ordinance, but we feared not one another.

16 Tewsday wind S: and by E: foggie till about 10 a clocke. while we were at prayers it cleared vp about an houre, and then we saw the lions whelpe distant about 2 leagues Southward. wee presently tackt about to meet her and shee did the same to meete vs, but before we could get together a thick fogge came, that we were long in fynding each other. This day we sounded diuers tymes, and found ourselves on another banke, at first 40 fathom, after 36. after 33. after 24. we thought it to haue bene the banke oure ag[ains]t chap Sable, but we were deceiued, for we knew not certainly where we were because of the fogge; After 3 or 4 houres company we lost the lions whelpe agayne: and beate our drumme and shot of a great piece of ordinaunce and yet heard not of them. But perceuing the banke to grow still the shallower we found it 27 and 24 fathoms. Therefore being a fogg and fearing wee were too neere land we tackt about for searoome for 2 or 3 watches, and [17] steered South east.

17 wednesday very foggie still, and wind S: and by W: and sounding found no bottome that we could reach.

18 Thursday wind full W: and contrary to vs. This day a notorious wicked fellow that was giuen to swearing and boasting of his formed wickednes, bragged that hee had got a wench with child before hee came this voyage, and mocked at our daies of fast, railing and jesting ag[ains]t puritans, this fellow fell sicke of the pockes and dyed. Wee sounded and found 38 fathom, and stayed for a little to take some codfish and feasted ourselves merily.

19 Fryday wind west still, a very fayre cleare day. About 4 a clock in the afternoone some went vp to the top of the mast, and affirmed to our great comfort they saw land to the north eastward.

20 Saturday wind So: w: a fayre gale: we sounded and found 40, 30, 22; and a little after no ground.

21 Sabb: being the 6th lords day; wind westerly but fayre

and calme. monday wind Easterly, a fayre gale. This day wee saw a great deale of Froth not farre from vs: wee feared it might bee some breach [27] of water ag[ains]t some ued grales.[28] therefore the master of a our shipp hoised out the shalop and went with [18] some of the men to see what it was; but found it onely to bee a froath carried by the streame. Tewsday the wind n: E: a fayre gale. This day we examined 5 beastly Sodomiticall boyes, which confessed their wickednes not to bee named. The fact was so fowle wee reserued them to bee punished by the gouernor when we came to new England, who afterward sent them backe to the company to bee punished in ould England, as the crime deserued. 22 June. 23

wednesday wind no. E: a fayre day and cleare; about 9 a clocke in the morning we espied a shipp about 4 leagues behind vs; which prooued the lions whelpe, which had bene a weeke separated from vs. we stayed for company. This day a child of good man Blacks which had a consumpcion before it came to shipp, dyed. This day we had all a cleare and comfortable sight of America, and of the Chap Sable that was ouer ag[ains]t vs 7 or 8 leagues northward. Here, we saw yellow gilliflowers [29] on the Sea. 24

Thursday wind still no. Ea: a full and fresh gale. In the after noone wee had a cleare sight of many Ilands and hills by the sea shoare. now we saw Abundance of mackrill, a great store of great whales huffing vp water as they goe, some of them came neere our shipp: their greatnes did astonish vs that saw them not before: their backs appeared like a little Iland. At 5 a clocke at [30] [19] night the wind turned S. E. a fayre gale. This day we caught mackrill. 25

Fryday a foggie morning, but after cleare and wind calme. We saw many scools of mackrill, infinite multitudes on every 26.

[27] Murray: "breach": surf, breakers.

[28] "Ued grales" works out (Murray.) into "weed gravel," or shoals covered with seaweed: "ved" obs. "wed" obs. weed; "grale" obs. "grail" obs. gravel. Hutchinson printed "rocks," which word is not in the text; Young gave up and printed "ned grales"; the copyist wrote "ued grales." The "froath carried by the streame" may have been due to some action of the tide at the entrance to the Bay of Fundy.

[29] The first attempt to spell this word, "Jely flowers," was crossed out.

[30] At this point the early manuscript copy, from which Hutchinson printed the Journal, breaks off, and Hutchinson's text is followed.

side our ship. The sea was abundantly stored with rock-weed and yellow flowers like gillyflowers. By noon we were within 3 leagues of Capan,[31] and as we sayled along the coasts we saw every hill and dale and every island full of gay woods and high trees. The nearer we came to the shoare the more flowers in abundance, sometymes scattered abroad, sometymes joyned [20] in sheets 9 or 10 yards long, which we supposed to be brought from the low meadowes by the tyde. Now what with fine woods and greene trees by land, and these yellow flowers paynting the sea, made us all desirous to see our new paradise of New England, whence we saw such forerunning signals of fertilite afarre off. Coming neare the harbour towards night we takt about for sea-roome.

27. Saturday a foggie morning; but after 8 o'clocke in the morning very cleare, the wind being somewhat contrary at So. and by West, we tackt to and againe with getting little; but with much adoe, about 4 o'clock in the afternoone, having with much payne compassed the harbour, and being ready to enter the same, see how things may suddenly change! there came a fearfull gust of wind and rayne and thunder and lightning, whereby we were borne with no little terrour and trouble to our mariners, having very much adoe to loose downe the sayles when the fury of the storme held up. But God be praised it lasted but a while and soone abated agayne, And hereby the Lord shewed us what he could have done with us, if it had pleased him. But blessed be God, he soone removed this storme and it was a fayre and sweet evening.

We had a westerly wind which brought us betweene 5 and 6 o'clock to a fyne and sweet harbour,[32] 7 miles from the head point of Capan. This harbour 20 ships may easily ryde therein, where there was an island whither four of our men with a boate went, and brought backe agayne ripe strawberries and gooseberries, and sweet single roses. Thus God was merciful to us in giving us a tast and smell of the sweet fruit as an earnest of his bountiful goodness to welcome us at our first arrivall. This harbour was two leagues and something more from the harbour at Naimkecke,[33] where our ships were

[31] Cape Ann.

[32] Gloucester Harbor and Ten Pound Island are here referred to.

[33] The Indian name of Salem.

to rest, and the plantation is already begun. But because the passage is difficult and night drew on, we put into Capan harbour.

The Sabbath, being the first we kept in America, and the 7th Lord's day after we parted with England. 28.

Monday we came from Capan, to go to Naimkecke, [21] the wind northerly. I should have tould you before that the planters spying our English colours the Governour sent a shalop with 2 men on Saturday to pilot us. These rested the Sabbath with us at Capan; and this day, by God's blessing and their directions, we passed the curious and difficult entrance into the large spacious harbour of Naimkecke. And as we passed along it was wonderful to behould so many islands replenished with thicke wood and high trees, and many fayre greene pastures. And being come into the harbour we saw the George to our great comfort there being come on Tuesday which was 7 daies before us.[34] We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world. 29.

The next morning the governour came aboard to our ship, and bade us kindly welcome, and invited me and my wiffe to come on shoare, and take our lodging in his house, which we did accordingly, 30.

Thus you have a faithful report collected from day to day of all the particulars that were worth noting in our passage.

Now in our passage divers things are remarkeable.

First, through God's blessing our passage was short and speedy, for whereas we had 1000 leagues, that is 3000 miles English, to saile from Ould to New England, we performed the same in 6 weeks and 3 dayes.

Secondly, our passage was comfortable and easie for the most part, having ordinarily fayre and moderate wind, and being freed for the most part from stormie and rough seas, saving one night only, which we that were not used thought to be more terrible than indeed it was, and this was Wednesday at night May 27th.

[34] Mr. Samuel Sharpe, carrying the Endecott Duplicate of the Royal Charter, had arrived on this ship, Tuesday, June 23, 1629.

Thirdly, our passage was also healthfull to our passengers, being freed from the great contagion of the scurvie [22] and other maledictions, which in other passages to other places had taken away the lives of many. And yet we were in all reason in wonderful danger all the way, our ship being greatly crowded with passengers; but through God's great goodness we had none that died of the pockes but that wicked fellow that scorned at fasting and prayer. There were indeed 2 little children, one of my owne and another beside; but I do not impute it meerely to the passage; for they were both very sickly children, and not likely to have lived long, if they had not gone to sea. And take this for a rule, if children be healthfull when they come to sea, the younger they are the better they will endure the sea, and are not troubled with sea-sicknes as older people are, as we had experience in many children that went this voyage. My wiffe indeed, in tossing weather, was something ill by vomiting, but in calme weather she recovered agayne, and is now much better for the sea sicknes. And for my owne part, whereas I have for divers yeares past been very sickly and ready to cast up whatsoever I have eaten, and was very sicke at London and Gravesend, yet from the tyme I came on shipboard to this day, I have been straungely healthfull. And now I can digest our ship diett very well, which I could not when I was at land. And indeed in this regard I have great cause to give God praise, that he hath made my coming to be a method to cure me of a wonderful weake stomacke and continual payne of melancholly wynd from the splene: Also divers children were sicke of the small pockes, but are safely recovered agayne, and 2 or 3 passengers towards the latter end of the voyage fell sicke of the scurvie, but coming to land recovered in a short tyme.

Fourthly, our passage was both pleasurable and profitable. For we received instruction and delight in behoulding the wonders of the Lord in the deepe waters, and sometimes seeing the sea round us appearing with a terrible countenance, and as it were full of high hills and deepe vallyes; and sometimes it appeared as a most plain and even meadow. And ever and anon we saw divers kynds of [23] fishes sporting in the great waters, great grampuses and huge whales going by companies and puffing up water-streames. Those that love their owne

chimney corner, and dare not go farre beyond their owne townes end shall neever have the honour to see these wonderfull workes of Almighty God.

Fifthly, we had a pious and christian-like passage; for I suppose passengers shall seldom find a company of more religious, honest and kynd seamen than we had. We constantly served God morning and evening by reading and expounding a chapter, singing, and prayer. And the Sabbath was solemnely kept by adding to the former, preaching twise and catechising. And in our great need we kept 2 solemne fasts, and found a gracious effect. Let all that love and use fasting and praying take notise that it is as prevaileable by sea as by land, wheresoever it is faithfully performed. Besides the ship master and his company used every night to sett their 8 and 12 a clocke watches with singing a psalme and prayer that was not read out of a booke. This I wryte not for boasting and flattery; but for the benefit of those that have a mynd to come to New England hereafter, that if they looke for and desyre to have as prosperous a voyage as we had, they may use the same meanes to attayne the same. So letting passe our passage by sea, we will now bring our discourse to land on the shoare of New England, and I shall by God's assistance endeavour to speake nothing but the naked truth, and both acquaint you with the commodities and discommodities of the country.

NEW-ENGLAND'S PLANTATION

AND THE

LETTER OF THOMAS GRAVES

NEW-ENGLAND'S PLANTATION AND THE *LETTER* OF THOMAS GRAVES.

NEW-ENGLAND'S Plantation is a continuation of the Journal which Higginson had sent back to England in July, 1629. The Journal was never printed there. Young thought this continuation "was probably sent home on the return of the *Four Sisters* and *Mayflower,* which arrived in England before November 20."[1] Yet Higginson writes of having seen flocks of pigeons in the "winter time," and the only winter he spent in New England was that of 1629–30. Moreover, the last sentence of the introductory paragraph, signed with the initials of Michael Sparke, the publisher, does not necessarily go to show that the first edition of *New-England's Plantation* appeared before the sailing of the Winthrop Fleet in April, 1630, although it has usually been thought to do so. Sparke's good wishes may have referred to no one in particular.

If Young's estimate of the date of composition be accepted, Higginson's report of the plantation at Salem could have been based on only three months' observation of the country, for he himself arrived in June, the Journal or *True Relacion* left for England in July, and this continuation supposedly followed it about the end of September, 1629. This belief that Higginson described only a summer at Salem, rather than waiting to experience a winter in New England, has led readers to find in Dudley's *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln* a complaint against the clergyman. Dudley, it will be remembered, remarks that encouraging accounts of the country invited emigration.[2] Yet although Higginson's four paragraphs of the "discommodities" of the plantation are scarcely an adequate description of the hardships of which he himself was to die in August, 1630, there is no reason to believe that

[1] Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts,* 242, n.
[2] *Ibid.,* 310.

Dudley singled him out in particular. Young's belief that *New-England's Plantation* was written before winter may have been based on the author's statement that "a sup of *New-Englands* Aire is better then a whole draught of old *Englands* Ale."

Significant of English interest in New England is the fact that this pamphlet went through three editions in one year. To the second and third editions there was attached a letter from Thomas Graves, an engineer who came over in the second expedition at the same time as Higginson, who laid out Charlestown and later apparently returned to England, there being no notice of him in the subsequent records of the Colony.[3] The following text is based on that of the third edition (London, 1630), and therefore, in the interest of accuracy and content, the *Letter of Thomas Graves* is included here.

[3] Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 152–153, n.

NEW-ENGLANDS PLANTATION

OR

A Short and Trve Description of the Commodities and Discommodities of that countrey

Written by M^r. *Higgeson,* a reuerend Diuine now there resident

Whereunto is added a Letter, sent by M^r. *Graues* an Enginere, out of *New-England*

The third Edition enlarged

LONDON
Printed by *T.* and *R. Cotes.* for *Michael Sparke,* dwelling at the Signe of the *Blue Bible* in *Greene-Arbor.* 1630

To the Reader.

Reader, doe not disdaine to reade this Relation; and looke not here to haue a large Gate and no building within; a full-stuffed Tittle with no matter in the Booke: But here reade the truth, and that thou shalt find without any frothy bum-basting words, or any quaint new-deuised additions, onely as it was written (not intended for the Presse) by a reuerend Diuine now there liuing, who onely sent it to some Friends here, which were desirous of his Relations; which is an Epitomy of their proceedings in the Plantation. And for thy part if thou meanest to be no Planter nor Venturer, doe but lend thy good Prayers for the furtherance of it. And so I rest a well-wisher to all the good designes both of them which are gone, and of them that are to goe.

M. S. [2].

New-Englands Plantation.

Letting passe our Voyage by Sea, we will now begin our discourse on the shore of *New-England.* And because the life and wel-fare of euery Creature heere below, and the commodiousnesse of the Countrey whereas such Creatures liue, doth by the most wise ordering of Gods prouidence, depend next vnto himselfe, vpon the temperature and disposition of the foure Elements, Earth, Water, Aire and Fire (For as of the mixture of all these, all sublunary things are composed; so by the more or lesse inioyment of the wholesome temper and conuenient vse of these, consisteth the onely well-being both of Man and Beast in a more or lesse comfortable measure in all Countreys vnder the Heauens.) Therefore I will indeauour to shew you what *New-England* is by the consideration of each of these apart, and truly indeauour by Gods helpe to report nothing but the naked truth, and that both to tell you of the discommodities as well as of the commodities, though as [3] the idle Prouerbe is, *Trauellers may lye by autoritie,* and so may take too much sinfull libertie that way. Yet I may say of my selfe as once *Nehemiah* did in another case: *Shall such a Man as I lye?* No verily: It becommeth not a Preacher of Truth to be a Writer of Falshod in any degree: and therefore I haue beene carefull to report nothing of *New-England* but what I haue partly seene with mine owne Eyes, and partly heard and inquired from the mouths of verie honest and religious persons, who by liuing in the Countrey a good space of time haue had experience and knowledge of the state thereof, and whose testimonies I doe beleeue as my selfe.

First therefore of the Earth of *New-England* and all the appertenances thereof: It is a Land of diuers and sundry sorts all about *Masathulets* Bay, and at *Charles* Riuer is as fat blacke Earth as can be seene anywhere: and in other places you haue a clay soyle, in other grauell, in other sandy,

as it is all about our Plantation at *Salem,* for so our Towne is now named, *Psal. 76.2.*

The forme of the Earth here in the superficies of it is neither too flat in the plainnesse, nor too high in Hils, but partakes of both in a mediocritie, and fit for Pasture, or for Plow or meddow ground, as Men please to employ it: though all the Countrey bee as it were a thicke Wood for the generall, yet in diuers places there is much ground cleared by the *Indians,* and especially about the Plantation: [4] and I am told that about three miles from vs a Man may stand on a little hilly place and see diuers thousands of acres of ground as good as need to be, and not a Tree in the same. It is thought here is good Clay to make Bricke and Tyles and Earthen-Pot as need to be. At this instant we are setting a Bricke-Kill on worke to make Brickes and Tiles for the building of our Houses. For Stone, here is plentie of Slates at the Ile of Slate in *Masathulets* Bay, and Lime-stone, Free-stone, and Smooth-stone, and Iron-stone, and Marble-stone[1] also in such store, that we haue great Rocks of it, and a Harbour hard by. Our Plantation is from thence called Marble-harbour.[2]

Of Minerals there hath yet beene but little triall made, yet we are not without great hope of being furnished in that Soyle.

The fertilitie of the Soyle is to be admired at, as appeareth in the aboundance of Grasse that groweth euerie where both verie thicke, verie long, and verie high in diuers places: but it groweth verie wildly with a great stalke and a broad and ranker blade, because it neuer had been eaten with Cattle, nor mowed with a Sythe, and seldome trampled on by foot. It is scarce to be beleeued how our Kine and Goats, Horses and Hogges, doe thriue and prosper here and like well of this Countrey.

In our Plantation we haue already a quart of Milke for a penny: but the aboundant encrease of Corne proues this Countrey to bee [5] a wonderment. Thirtie, fortie, fiftie,

[1] "This Isle of Slate and the marble-stone," writes Young, "have never yet been found."

[2] Wood, in *New England's Prospect,* calls a place four miles south of Salem "Marvilhead." He visited the coast in 1633.

sixtie are ordinarie here: yea *Iosephs* encrease in *Ægypt* is out-stript here with vs. Our planters hope to haue more then a hundred fould this yere: and all this while I am within compasse; what will you say of two hundred fould and vpwards? It is almost incredible what great gaine some of our English Planters haue had by our Indian Corne. Credible persons haue assured me, and the partie himselfe auouched the truth of it to me, that of the setting of 13 Gallons of Corne hee hath had encrease of it 52 Hogsheads, euery Hogshead holding seuen Bushels of *London* measure, and euery Bushell was by him sold and trusted to the *Indians* for so much Beauer as was worth 18 shillings; and so of this 13 Gallons of Corne which was worth 6 shillings 8 pence, he made about 327 pounds of it the yeere following, as by reckoning will appeare: where you may see how God blessed husbandry in this Land. There is not such greate and plentifull eares of Corne I suppose any where else to bee found but in this Country: because also of varietie of colours, as red, blew and yellow, etc. and of one Corne there springeth foure or fiue hundred. I haue sent you many Eares of diuers colours that you might see the truth of it.

Little Children here by setting of Corne may earne much more then their owne maintenance.

They haue tryed our *English* Corne at new *Plimmouth* Plantation, so that all our seuerall [6] Graines will grow here verie well, and haue a fitting Soyle for their nature.

Our Gouerner hath store of greene Pease growing in his Garden as good as euer I eat in *England.*

This Countrey aboundeth naturally with store of Rootes of great varietie and good to eat. Our Turnips, Parsnips and Carrots are here both bigger and sweeter then is ordinarily to bee found in *England.* Here are store of Pumpions, Cowcombers, and other things of that nature which I know not. Also diuers excellent Pot-herbs grow abundantly among the Grasse, as Strawberrie leaues in all places of the Countrey, and plentie of Strawberries in their time, and Penyroyall, Wintersauerie Sorrell, Brookelime, Liuerwort, Caruell and Watercresses, also Leekes and Onions are ordinarie, and diuers Physicall Herbs. Here are also aboundance of other sweet Hearbs delightfull to the smell, whose names we know

not, etc. and plentie of single Damaske Roses verie sweete; and two kinds of Herbes that beare two kinds of Flowers very sweet, which they say, are as good to make Cordage or Cloath as any Hempe or Flaxe we haue.[3]

Excellent Vines are here vp and downe in the Woodes. Our Gouernour hath already planted a Vineyard with great hope of encrease.

Also, Mulberries, Plums, Raspberries, Corrance, Chesnuts, Filberds, Walnuts, Smalnuts, Hurtleberies and Hawes of Whitethorne neere [7] as good as our Cherries in *England*, they grow in plentie here.

For Wood there is no better in the World I thinke, here being foure sorts of Oke differing both in the Leafe, Timber and Colour, all excellent good. There is also good Ash, Elme, Willow, Birch, Beech, Saxafras, Iuniper Cipres, Cedar, Spruce, Pines and Firre that will yeeld abundance of Turpentine, Pitch, Tarre, Masts and other materials for building both of Ships and Houses. Also here are store of Sumacke Trees, they are good for dying and tanning of Leather, likewise such Trees yeeld a precious Gem called Wine Beniamen,[4] that they say is excellent for perfumes. Also here be diuers Roots and Berries wherewith the *Indians* dye excellent holding colours that no raine nor washing can alter. Also, wee haue materials to make Sope-Ashes and Salt-Peter in aboundance.

For Beasts there are some Beares, and they say some Lyons also; for they haue been seen at Cape *Anne*.[5] Also here are seuerall sorts of Deere, some whereof bring three or foure young ones at once, which is not ordinarie in *England*. Also Wolues, Foxes, Beauers, Otters, Martins, great wild Cats, and a great Beast called a Molke[6] as bigge as an Oxe. I haue seen the Skins of all these Beasts since I came to this Plantation excepting Lyons. Also here are great store of Squerrls, some greater, and some smaller and lesser: there are some of the

[3] Apparently the Indian lamp; Young, *Chronicles of the Pilgrims* (1841), 166, n. 2.

[4] Young has: "a precious gum called white benjamin" etc. Obviously the author refers to benzoin, or "gum benjamin."

[5] Morton alone, of early artists at describing New England, denied the existence of lions there: *The New English Canaan*, Chapter 5.

[6] Young thinks this is a printer's error for "moose."

lesser sort, they tell me, that by a certaine Skill [8] will fly from Tree to Tree though they stand farre distant.

Of the Waters of New-England *with the things belonging to the same.*

New-England hath Water enough both salt and fresh, the greatest Sea in the World, the *Atlanticke* Sea runs all along the Coast thereof. There are abundance of Ilands along the Shore, some full of Wood and Mast to feed Swine; and others cleere of Wood, and fruitfull to beare Corne. Also wee haue store of excellent harbours for Ships, as at Cape *Anne,* and at *Masahulets* Bay, and at *Salem,* and at many other places: and they are the better because for Strangers there is a verie difficult and dangerous passage into them, but vnto such as are well acquainted with them, they are easie and safe enough. The aboundance of Sea-Fish are almost beyond beleeuing, and sure I should scarce haue beleeued it except I had seene it with mine owne Eyes. I saw great store of Whales, and Crampusse, and such aboundance of Mackerils that it would astonish one to behold, likewise Cod-Fish aboundance on the Coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a Fish called a Basse, a most sweet and wholesome Fish as euer I did eate, it is altogether as good as our fresh Sammon, and the season of their comming was begun when wee came first to *New-England* in *Iune,* and so continued about [9] three months space.[7] Of this Fish our Fishers take many hundreds together, which I haue seene lying on the shore to my admiration; yea their Nets ordinarily take more then they are able to hale to Land, and for want of Boats and Men they are constrained to let a many goe after they haue taken them, and yet sometimes they fill two Boates at a time with them. And besides Basse wee take plentie of Scate and Thornbacks, and abundance of Lobsters, and the least Boy in the Plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my owne part I was soone cloyed with them, they were so great, and fat, and lussious. I haue seene some my selfe that haue weighed 16 pound, but others haue had diuers times so great Lobsters as haue weighed 25 pound, as they assure

[7] Higginson could not have written this before September, 1629.

mee. Also heere is abundance of Herring, Turbut, Sturgion, Cuskes, Hadocks, Mullets, Eeles, Crabbes, Muskles and Oysters. Besides there is probability that the Countrey is of an excellent temper for the making of Salt: for since our comming our Fishermen haue brought home very good Salt which they found candied by the standing of the Sea water and the heat of the Sunne, vpon a Rocke by the Sea shore: and in diuers salt Marishes that some haue gone through, they haue found some Salt in some places crushing vnder their Feete and cleauing to their Shooes.

And as for fresh Water the Countrey is full of dainty Springs, and some great Riuers, and some lesser Brookes; and at *Masathulets* Bay [10] they digged Wels and found Water at three Foot deepe in most places: and neere *Salem* they haue as fine cleare Water as we can desire, and we may digge Wels and find Water where we list.

Thus wee see both Land and Sea abound with store of blessings for the comfortable sustenance of Mans life in *New-England.*

Of the Aire of New-England *with the temper and Creatures in it.*

The Temper of the Aire of *New-England* is one speciall thing that commends this place. Experience doth manifest that there is hardly a more healthfull place to be found in the World that agreeth better with our English bodyes. Many that haue beene weake and sickly in old *England,* by comming hither haue been thoroughly healed and growne healthfull strong. For here is an extraordinarie cleere and dry Aire that is of a most healing nature to all such as are of a Cold, Melancholy, Flegmatick, Rheumatick temper of Body. None can more truly speake hereof by their own experience then my selfe. My Friends that knew me can well tell how verie sickly I haue bin and continually in Physick, being much troubled with a tormenting paine through an extraordinarie weaknesse of my Stomacke, and aboundance of Melancholicke humors; but since I came hither on this Voyage, I thanke God, I haue had perfect health, [11] and freed from paine and vomiting, hauing a Stomacke to digest the hardest and coursest fare,

who before could not eat finest meat; and whereas my Stomacke could onely digest and did require fuch drinke as was both strong and stale, now I can and doe often times drink *New-England* water verie well; and I that haue not gone without a Cap for many yeeres together, neither durst leaue off the same, haue now cast away my Cap, and doe weare none at all in the day time: and whereas beforetime I cloathed my selfe with double cloathes and thicke Wastcoates to keepe me warme, euen in the Summer time, I doe now goe as thin clad as any, onely wearing a light Stuffe Cassocke vpon my Shirt, and Stuffe Breeches of one thicknesse without Linings.[8] Besides I haue one of my Children that was formerly most lamentably handled with sore breaking out of both his hands and feet of the Kings-Euill, but since he came hither hee is very well ouer [*sic*] he was, and there is hope of perfect recouerie shortly euen by the very wholesomnesse of the Aire, altering, digesting and drying vp the cold and crude humous [*sic*] of the Body: and therefore I thinke it is a wise course for al cold complections to come to take Physick in *New-England:* for a sup of *New-Englands* Aire is better then a whole draught of old *Englands* Ale.

In the Summer time in the midst of *Iuly* and *August,* it is a good deale hotter then in old *England:* and in Winter, *Ianuary* and *February* [12] are much colder as they say: but the Spring and Autumne are of a middle temper.

Fowles of the Aire are plentifull here, and of all sorts as we haue in *England* as farre as I can learne, and a great many of strange Fowles which wee know not. Whilst I was writing these things, one of our Men brought home an Eagle which hee had killed in the Wood: they say they are good meate. Also here are many kinds of excellent Hawkes, both Sea Hawkes and Land Hawkes: and my selfe walking in the Woods with another in company, sprung a Partridge so bigge that through the heauinesse of his Body could fly but a little way: they that haue killed them, say they are as bigge as our Hens. Here are likewise aboundance of Turkies often killed in the Woods, farre greater then our English Turkies, and exceeding fat, sweet and fleshy, for here they haue

[8] Higginson died the following August.

aboundance of feeding all the yeere long, as Strawberries, in Summer al places are full of them, and all manner of Berries and Fruits. In the Winter time I haue seene Flockes of Pidgeons, and haue eaten of them: they doe fly from Tree to Tree as other Birds doe, which our Pidgeons will not doe in *England:* they are of all colours as ours are, but their wings and tayles are far longer and therefore it is likely they fly swifter to escape the terrible Hawkes in this Country.[9] In Winter time this Country doth abound with wild Geese, wild Duckes, and other Sea Fowle, that a great part of winter the Planters [13] haue eaten nothing but roastmeate of diuers Fowles which they haue killed.

Thus you haue heard of the Earth, Water and Aire of *New-England,* now it may bee you expect something to bee said of the Fire proportionable to the rest of the Elements.

Indeede I thinke *New-England,* may boast of this Element more then of all the rest: for though it bee here somewhat cold in the winter, yet here we haue plenty of Fire to warme vs, and that a great deale cheaper then they sel [*sic*] Billets and Faggots in *London:* nay, all *Europe* is not able to afford to make so great Fires as *New-England.* A poore Seruant here that is to possesse but 50 Acres of Land, may afford to giue more wood for Timber and Fire as good as the world yeelds, then many Noble men in *England* can afford to do. Here is good liuing for those that loue good Fires. And although *New-England* haue no Tallow to make Candles of, yet by the aboundance of the Fish thereof, it can afford Oyle for Lampes, Yea our Pine-Trees that are the most plentifull of all wood, doth allow vs plenty of Candles which are very vsefull in a House: and they are such Candles as the *Indians* commonly vse, hauing no other, and they are nothing else but the wood of the Pine Tree clouen into two little slices something thin, which are so full of the moysture of Turpentine and Pitch, that they burne as cleere as a Torch. I haue sent you some of them that you may see the experience of them. [14]

Thus of *New-Englands* commodities, now I will tell you of some discommodities that are here to be found.

[9] This sentence seems to imply that Higginson wrote this account *after* rather than *before* a winter in New England.

First, in the Summer season for these three months, *Iune, Iuly,* and *August,* we are troubled much with little Flyes called Musketoes, being the same they are troubled with in *Lincolneshiere* and the Fens: and they are nothing but Gnats, which except they bee smoked out of their houses are troublesome in the night season.

Secondly, in the Winter season for two months space, the earth is commonly couered with Snow, which is accompanied with sharp biting Frosts, something more sharpe then is in old *England,* and therefore are forced to make great Fires.

Thirdly, the Countrey being very full of Woods, and Wildernesses, doth also much abound with Snakes and Serpents of strange colours, and huge greatnesse: yea there are some Serpents called Rattle-snakes, that haue Rattles in their Tailes, that will not fly from a man as others will, but will flye vpon him and sting him so mortally, that hee will dye within a quarter of an houre after, except the parttie [*sic*] stinged haue about him some of the root of an Hearbe called Snake-weed to bite on, and then hee shall receiue no harme: but yet seldome falles it out that any hurt is done by these. About three yeares since, an *Indian* was stung to death by one of them, but wee heard of none since that time. [15]

Fourthly and lastly, Here wants as it were good company of honest Christians to bring with them Horses, Kine and Sheepe to make vse of this fruitfull Land: great pitty it is to see so much good ground for Corne and for Grasse as any is vnder the Heauens, to ly altogether vnoccupied, when so many honest Men and their Families in old *England* through the populousnesse thereof, do make very hard shift to liue one by the other.

Now, thus you know what *New-England* is, as also with the commodities and discommodities thereof: now I will shew you a little of the Inhabitants thereof, and their gouernment.

For their Gouerners they haue Kings, which they call *Saggamores,* some greater, and some lesser, according to the number of their Subiects.

The greatest *Saggamores* about vs can not make aboue three hundred Men, and other lesse *Saggamores* haue not aboue fifteen Subiects, and others neere about vs but two.

Their Subiects aboue twelue yeeres since were swept away

by a great and grieuous Plague that was amongst them, so that there are verie few left to inhabite the Country.[10]

The *Indians* are not able to make vse of the one fourth part of the Land, neither haue they any setled places, as Townes to dwell in, nor any ground as they challenge for their owne possession, but change their habitation from place to place. [16]

For their Statures, they are a tall and strong limmed People, their colours are tawny, they goe naked, saue only they are in part couered with Beasts Skins on one of their shoulders, and weare something before their Priuities: their Haire is generally blacke, and cut before like our Gentelewomen, and one locke longer then the rest, much like to our Gentelmen, which fashion I thinke came from hence into *England*.

For their weapons, they haue Bowes and Arrowes, some of them headed with Bone, and some with Brasse: I haue sent you some of them for an example.

The Men for the most part liue idely, they doe nothing but hunt and fish: their wiues set their Corne and doe all their other worke. They haue little Household stuffe, as a kettle, and some other Vessels like Trayes, Spoones, Dishes and Baskets.

Their Houses are verie little and homely, being made with small Poles pricked into the ground, and so bended and fastned at the tops, and on the sides they are matted with Boughes and couered on the Roofe with Sedge and old Mats, and for their beds that they take their rest on, they haue a Mat.

They doe generally professe to like well of our comming and planting here; partly because there is abundance of ground that they cannot possesse nor make vse of, and partly because our being heere will bee a meanes both of reliefe to them when they want, and also a [17] defence from their Enemies, wherewith (I say) bfore [*sic*] this Plantation began, they were often indangered.

For their Religion, they doe worship two Gods, a good God and an euill God: the good God they call *Tantum,* and their

[10] The plague of 1612, or thereabouts, is thought to have destroyed nine-tenths of the Indians of New England.

euill God whom they feare will doe them hurt, they call *Squantum.*

For their dealing with vs, we neither feare them nor trust them, for fourtie of our Musketeeres will driue fiue hundred of them out of the Field. We vse them kindly, they will come into our Houses sometimes by halfe a douzen or halfe a score at a time when we are at victuals, but will aske or take nothing but what we giue them.

We purpose to learne their language as soone as we can, which will be a meanes to do them good.

Of the present condition of the Plantation, and what it is.

When we came first to *Nehum kek,* we found about half a score Houses, and a faire House newly built for the Gouernor, we found also aboundance of Corne planted by them, very good and well liking. And we brought with vs about two hundred Passengers and Planters more, which by common consent of the old Planters were all combined together into one Body Politicke, vnder the same Gouernour. [18]

There are in all of vs both old and new Planters about three hundred, whereof two hundred of them are setled at *Nehum-kek,* now called *Salem:* and the rest haue Planted themselues at *Masathulets* Bay, beginning to build a Towne there which wee doe call *Cherton,* or *Charles* Towne.[11]

We that are setled at *Salem* make what haste we can to build Houses, so that within a short time we shall haue a faire Towne.

We haue great Ordnance, where with wee doubt not but wee shall fortifie our selues in a short time to keepe out a potent Aduersary.[12] But that which is our greatest comfort, and meanes of defence aboue all others, is, that we haue here the true Religion and holy Ordinances of Almightie God taught amongst vs: Thankes be to God, wee haue here plenty

[11] Thomas Graves laid out this town soon after his arrival in New England in June, 1629. The Spragues, also, came down to the site of Charlestown from Salem in 1629. Thomas Walford was already living on the territory. Savage, Winthrop's *History of New England,* I, 44, n.

[12] The day before the Charter passed the seals Mr. Samuel Sharpe was given "oversight of the ordnance" of the Company of the Massachusetts Bay. *Mass. Recs.* I, 29.

of Preaching, and diligent Catechizing, with strickt and carefull exercise, and good and commendable orders to bring our People into a Christian conuersation with whom wee haue to doe withall. And thus wee doubt not but God will be with vs, and *if God be with us, who can be against vs?*

Here ends Master Higgesons Relation of New-England. [19]

A LETTER SENT FROM *New-England,* BY *Master* GRAUES, *Engynere now there resident.*

Thus much I can affirme in generall, that I neuer came in a more goodly Country in all my life, all things considered: if it hath not at any time beene manured and husbanded, yet it is very beautifull in open Lands, mixed with goodly woods, and againe open plaines, in some places fiue hundred Acres, some places more, some lesse, not much troublesome for to cleere for the Plough to goe in, no place barren, but on the tops of the Hils; the grasse and weedes grow vp to a mans face, in the Lowlands and by fresh Riuers aboundance of grasse and large Meddowes without any Tree or shrubbe to hinder the Sith. I neuer saw except in Hungaria, vnto which I alwayes paralell this countrie, in all our most respects, for euery thing that is heere eyther sowne or planted prospereth far better then in old England: the increase of Corne is here farre beyond expectation, as I haue seene here by experience in Barly, the which because it is so much aboue your conception I will not mention. And Cattle doe prosper very well, and those that are bredd here farr greater then [20] those with you in England. Vines doe grow here plentifully laden with the beggest Grapes that euer I saw, some I haue seene foure inches about, so that I am bold to say of this countrie, as it is commonly said in *Germany* of *Hungaria,* that for Cattel, Corne, and Wine it excelleth. We haue many more hopefull commodities here in this countrie, the which time will teach to make good vse of: In the meane time wee abound with such things which next vnder God doe make vs subsist, as Fish, Foule, Deere, and sundrie sorts of fruits, as musk-millions water-millions, Indian-Pompions, Indian-Pease

Beanes, and many other odde fruits that I cannot name; all which are made good and pleasant through this maine blessing of God, the healthfulnesse of the countrie which far exceedeth all parts that euer I haue beene in: It is obserued that few or none doe here fal sicke, vnlesse of the Scuruy that they bring from aboard the Ship with them, whereof I haue cured some of my Companie onely by labour. Thus making an end of an imperfect Description, and committing you to God, etc. [21]

A Catalogue of such needefull things as euery Planter doth or ought to prouide to go to *New-England;* as namely for one man, which being doubled, may serue for as many as you please, *viz.*

Victuals for a whole yeere for a man, and so after the rate for more.

8 *Bvshels of meale.*
2 *Bushels of pease*
2 *Bushels of Otemeale.*
1 *Gallon of Aquavitæ.*
1 *Gallon of Oyle.*
2 *Gallons of Vineger.*
1 *Firkin of Butter.*

Apparell.

1 *Monmoth Cap.*
3 *Falling bands.*
3 *Shirts.*
1 *Wast-coat.*
1 *Suit of Canuase.*
1 *Suit of Frize.*
1 *Suit of Cloth.*
3 *Paire of Stockings.*
4 *Paire of Shooes.*
2 *Paire of Sheets.*
7 *Ells of Canuas to make a bed and boulster.*
1 *Paire of Blankets.*
1 *Course Rug.*

Armes.

1 *Armor compleat.*
1 *Long peece.*
1 *Sword.*
1 *Belt.*
1 *Bandilier.*
20 *Pound of powder.*
60 *Pound of Lead.*
1 *Pistoll and Goose shot.*

Tooles.

1 *Broad Howe.*
1 *Narrow Howe.*
1 *Broad Axe.*
1 *Felling Axe.*
1 *Steele Handsawe.*
1 *whipsawe.*
1 *Hammer.* [22]

1 *Shouell.*
1 *Spade.*
2 *Augres.*
4 *Chissels.*
2 *Percers stocked.*
1 *Gimblet.*
1 *Hatchet.*
2 *Frowes.*
1 *Hand-Bill.*
1 *Grindstone.*
1 *Pickaxe.*
Nayles of all sorts.

Household implements.

1 *Iron pot.*
1 *Kettell.*
1 *Frying pan.*
1 *Gridiron.*
2 *Skellets.*
1 *Spit.*
Woodden Platters.
Dishes.
Spoones.
Trenchers.

Spices.

Sugar.
Pepper.
Cloues.
Mace.
Cinnamon.
Nutmegs.
Fruit.

Also there are diuers other things necessary to bee taken ouer to this Plantation, as Bookes, Nets, Hookes and Lines, Cheese, Bacon, Kine, Goats, etc. [23]

The names of the most remarkable places in *New-England.*

The old names.	The new names.
Cape *Cod.*	Cape *Iames.*
The Harbor of Cape *Cod.*	*Milford* Hauen.
Chawum.	*Barwick.*
Accomack.	*Plimouth.*
Sagoquas.	*Oxford.*
Massachusets Mount.	*Cheuit* Hils.
Massachusets Riuer.	*Charles* Riuer.
Totan.	*Famouth.*
A great Bay by Cape *Anne.*	*Bristow.*
Cape *Tragabig sanda.*	Cape *Anne.*
Naembeck.	*Bastable,* so named by King *Charles:* But by the new Planters now called *Salem.*
Aggawom.	*Southampton.*

Smiths Iles.	*Smiths* Iles.
Passataquack.	*Hull.*
Accominticus.	*Boston.*
Sassanows Mount.	*Snowdon* hill.
Sowocatuck.	*Ipswich.*
Bahanna.	*Dartmouth.*
A good Harbor within that Bay.	*Sandwich.*
Ancociscos Mount.	*Shuters* hill. [24]
Ancocisco.	The *Base.*
Anmoughcawgen.	*Cambridge.*
Kenebecka.	*Edenborow.*
Sagadahock.	*Leth.*
Pemmayquid.	*S. Iohn*stowne.
Segocket.	*Norwich.*
Mecadacut.	*Dunbarton.*
Pennobscot.	*Aberden.*
Nusket.	*Low mounds,*
Monahigan.	*Barties* Iles.
Matinack.	*Willowbies* Iles.
Metinacus.	*Haughtons* Iles.

But whosoeuer desireth to know as much as yet can be discouered, I aduise them to buy Captain *Iohn Smiths* booke of the description of *New-England* in Folio; and reade from Fol. 203. to the end; and there let the Reader expect to haue full content.

FINIS.

THE FIRST YEAR

1630–1631

OF THE

JOURNAL OF JOHN WINTHROP

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Worth 31 1628

THE JOURNAL OF JOHN WINTHROP

BECAUSE no edition of Winthrop's *Journal* (*The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*) has preserved the text intact, an endeavor has been made in the following pages to print the first year (March 29, 1630, to March 29, 1631) as nearly as possible as the author wrote it. The text has been prepared directly from the pages of the original manuscript in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Winthrop's spelling, spacing, and style have been respected, in so far as his notoriously difficult handwriting and the limitations of type would permit. Conventional contractions have been expanded, in accordance with the practice of the printers of the time, but capital letters, which the author used (or neglected) with perplexing inconsistency, have been left untouched, the only editorial alteration being the placing of capitals at the beginning of paragraphs, where they were occasionally omitted. No reader can be quite certain of the writer's intention, for it is not often that Winthrop capitalized the first letter of his last name.

Minor questions of spelling and punctuation are insignificant beside the difficulties of chronology. From the printed page one can see at a glance how scanty Winthrop's records often were, but a study of the original raises grave doubts as to some of his dates. Undoubtedly Winthrop intended to edit his Journal at some future time, perhaps using it as the basis of the history which it has often been inaccurately called. It is possible that he had already undertaken this task at the time he died. The underscorings (in a pale brown ink, apparently of a later date) perhaps were his own. These have been omitted from the text although the ink is of the same color as additions in Winthrop's hand. Certain it is that Winthrop often went back and filled spaces he had left, by accident or intention, with entries based on subsequent information. Some of these entries were made

in such a way as to confuse even the omniscience of Savage, as one or two comparisons with the *Records of Massachusetts* will show. Sometimes Winthrop himself seems to have been careless or confused.

The history of the manuscript of Winthrop is almost as curious as that of Bradford. The original Journal consisted of three volumes of unequal size, bound in vellum, the first from which the extract is taken, being of the dimensions of a small quarto, measuring $7\frac{1}{4}$ by $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches and containing 190 pages. Several historians of New England, among others Hubbard, Cotton Mather, and Prince, had made use of these volumes; "Hutchinson, we know, (says Savage) did not enjoy the use of them." In 1790 there was published at Hartford, Connecticut, from a manuscript copy made previously for Governor Trumbull, an edition of the Journal through 1644. This edition was prepared from the first two volumes of Winthrop's manuscript then in the possession of his descendants, the third volume having been lost. Governor Trumbull was dead by the time the book was issued, but his secretary, John Porter, had transcribed much of the manuscript for him, and Noah Webster was responsible for most of the editing.

In 1816 the third manuscript volume was found among the collections of the Rev. Thomas Prince deposited in the Old South Church in Boston,[1] where it had lain unnoticed for sixty years. Working with all three manuscript volumes, James Savage prepared his first edition of *The History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, in two volumes (Boston, 1825), publishing the third volume for the first time and correcting many errors in the transcription of the first and second. His second edition (Boston, 1853) was even more famous, for his notes are numerous, lengthy, and packed with prejudice and the pride of many opinions. The less valuable side of the great work of Savage is ably presented in the blunt review of the second edition published by S. G. Drake in *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register* (Boston, 1854). But in spite of the liberties he took with spelling, punctuation, and space, any one who has worked

[1] 1 *Coll.* Mass. Hist. Soc. IV, 220.

with the handwriting of John Winthrop must respect the patience and the ingenuity of James Savage. During the process of editing, the second volume of the manuscript of Winthrop was destroyed by fire (November 10, 1825), the lost section comprising 181 pages of the edition of 1853 (I, 235–401; II, 1–15) out of a grand total of 632 pages. The charts included in the present text, and the writing on them, Savage did not publish.

Two good accounts of Winthrop's voyage, with maps, are to be found in the *Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts,* the first by Horace E. Ware, "Winthrop's Course Across the Atlantic," XII, 191–203 [2]; and the second by S. E. Morison, "The Arbella's Course Across the Gulf of Maine," which will appear in Volume XXVII.

An expurgated edition of the Journal was prepared for the *Original Narratives* Series by James Kendall Hosmer and published in two volumes (New York, 1908).

[2] There is a revised chart of the voyage in XX, 278.

INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

MHS

The First Page of Winthrop's Journal

The First Year of Winthrop's Journal

Anno Domini 1630: march 29: mundaye.

Easter mundaye Rydinge at the Cowes near the Ile of wight in the Arbella,[1] a Shippe of 350: tons whereof Captain Peter Milborne was master, being manned with 52 seamen, and 28: peeces of ordinance (the winde coming to the N: and by W : the eveninge before) in the morninge there came aboard vs mr. Cradock the late Gouernor, and the masters of his 2 : shippes Captain John Lowe master of the Ambrose, and mr. Nicholas Hurlston master of the Jewell, and mr. Thomas Beecher master of the Talbott,[2] (which 3: shippes rode then by vs, the Charles the Mayflower the William and Francis the Hopewell, the Whale, the Successe, and the Tryall beinge still at Hampton and not readye) when vpon Conference it was agreed that (in regard it was vncertaine when the rest of the fleet would be readye) these 4 : shippes should consort togither, the Arbella to be Admiral, the Talbott vice Admiral, the Ambrose rear admiral : and the Jewell a Captain and accordingly Articles of Consortshippe were drawn betweene, the said Captains and masters : wherevpon mr. Cradock tooke leaue of vs, and our Captain gave [him] a farewell with 4 : or 5 : shott.

About 10: of the Clock we weighed Anchor, and set sayle with the wind at N, and came to an Anchor againe over against Yarmouthe, and the Talbott weyed likewise and came and Anchored by vs: here we mett with a shippe of [2] [3] [Hampton] called the Plantation newly come from Virginia,

[1] The former name of this ship was the *Eagle,* changed to *Arbella* in honor of Isaac Johnson's wife, whose first name was Arabella. See Channing, *History of the United States,* I, 330, n.

[2] The same master in the same ship brought Higginson over to Salem in 1629.

[3] The figures in brackets throughout the text of the Journal indicate the numbers of the manuscript pages of the original.

our Captain Saluted her, and she vs againe, and the master one mr. Graues came aboard our shippe, and stayed with vs about 2: or 3 howers, and in the meane tyme his shippe came to an Anchor by vs.

Tuesday 30: In the morninge about 10: of the Clocke the winde beinge come to the w: with faire weather, we weighed and rode neerer Yarmouthe when we came before the towne the Castle putt forthe a flagge: our Captain saluted them and they answered vs againe: The Talbott which rode further off saluted the Castle also.

Here we sawe close by the shore of the Ile of wighte a dutche shippe of 1000: tons which being bound to the E. Indies about 2: yeares since, in passing through the needles struck vpon a rocke and beinge forced to runne a shore to save her men, could never be weyghed since, although she lyes a great height aboue the water and yet she hath some men aboard her.

Wensday 31: The wind continued w: and S: w: with rayne our Captain and some of our Company went to Yarmouthe for supplye of wood, and other provisions (our Captain was still carefull to fill all our emptye Cask with water).

Thursday Aprill 1: The winde continued verye stronge at w: and by S: with muche rayne.

[Frida]y 2: We kept a fast aboard our shippe and the Talbott the wind continued still verye high at w: and S: and rayne, in the tyme of our fast 2: of our landmen, pierced a rundlet of stronge water, and stole some of it for which we layd them in bolts all the night, and the next morninge the principall was openly whipped, and kept with bread, and water that daye.

[Saturda]y [3] The wind continued still at w: and with continuall stormes, and rayne.

[Sunday, 4.] Faire cleare weather, in the morning the wind w: and by n: but in the afternoon S: S: w: this evening the Talbott weyd and went back to the Cowes, because her Anchor would not hold heer the tyd sett with so strong a race. [3]

Munday 5: Ap: The wind still w: and S: with faire weather. a maid of S: R: Saltonstall fell down at the grating by the Cookroom, but the Carpenter man (who occasioned her fall unwittingly

caught hold of her, with incredible nimbleness and saved her, otherwise she had fallen into the hold.

Teusday 6: Captaine Burleigh Captain of Yarmouth Castle a grave comely gentleman and of great age, came aboard vs, and stayed breakfast, and offering vs much Courtesy, he departed, our Captain giving him 4: shott out of the forecastle for his farewell, he was an old sea Captain in Q: Eliz: tyme, and being taken prisoner at sea, was kept prisoner in Spaine 3: yeares. himself and 3: of his sonnes were Captains in Roes voyage.[4]

The wind was now come about to n: E: with verye faire weather. In the afternoone mr. Cradock came aboard vs, and told vs that the Talbott, Jewell and Ambrose were fallen downe into Stokes baye [5] intending to take their waye by St. Hellens point, and that they desired we would come back to them; heervpon we came to Councell, and wrote vnto them, to take the first opportunity of the wind to fall downe to vs, and mr. Cradock presently rode back to them: our Captain giving him 3: shott out of the steerage for a Farewell.

Our Captain called over our landmen, and tryed them at their musketts and such as were good shott among them, were enrolled to serve in the Shippe, if occasion should be.

The Lady Arbella, and the gentlewomen, and mr. Johnson and some others went on shore to refresh themselues.

Wensday 7: Faire weather, the wind easterly in the morning a small gale, but in the afternoone it came about to the S: this afternoone our other Consorts came vp to vs, and about 10: or 12: flemings and all Anchored by vs. and the master of the Jewell and of the Ambrose came aboard vs and our Captain and they went on shoare.

Towards night there came from the west a fleminge a small man of warre, with a Brazill man which he had taken prize: came to an anchor by vs.

Thursday 8. About 6: in the morning (the winde being E: and n: (faire weather), we weighed Anchor and sett sayle and before 10: we gott through the needles, having so litle winde as we had much to doe to stemme the tyde, so as the rest of our

[4] Sir Thomas Roe was sent out by Prince Henry in 1609/10 to explore the coast of Guiana. He returned to England in 1611.

[5] Stokes Bay, a part of the Spithead.

fleet (we [being] 9 in all, whereof some were small shippes which were bound for newf: lande) could not gett [out] all them till the ebbe, in the afternoone the wind came S: and W: and we were becalmed, so as being not able to gett above
Aprill 3: or 4: leagues [4] [from] the needles, our Captain tacked about and putting his foresheets a back stayes, he stayed for the rest of the fleet, and as they came by vs we spake to them and about 8: in the evening, we let fall an Anchor, intending to stoppe till the ebbe. But before 10: at night the wind came about to the n: a good gale, so we putt vp a
Friday light in the poope, and weighed, and sett sayle, and by the
9: Ap: day light, we were come to Portland but the Talbott and some of the other shippes being not able to holde vp with vs, we were forced to spare our maine saile, and went on with a merry gale: In the morning we described from the toppe 8: sayle a sterne of vs (whom Captain Lowe told us he had seene at Dunne nose[6] in the evening) we supposing they might be Dunkerkes, our Captain caused the gunne roome and gunne deck to be Cleared, all the hammocks were taken downe, our ordinance laded, and our powder chests and fireworks made ready, and our landmen quartered amonge the seamen, and 25: of them appointed for musketts, and every man written downe for his quarter.

The winde continued n [*blank*] with faire weather: and after noone it calmed, and we still sawe those 8: shippes to stand towards vs, having more winde then we, they came vp apace so as our Captain and the masters of our Consorts were more occasioned to think they might be Dunkerks (for we were tould at yarmouthe that there were 10: sayle of them wayting for vs) wherevpon we all prepared to fight with them, and took downe some Cabbins, which were in the waye of our ordenance, and out of every shippe were throwne such bedd matter as were subiecte to take fire, and we heaved out our long boats, and putt vp our waste Clothes,[7] and drewe forth our men and armed them with musketts, and other weapons, and instruments for fireworks, and for an experiment, our Captain shott a ball of wild fire fastened

[6] Dunnose, the southeastern headland of the Isle of Wight.

[7] Waist-cloths: colored cloths which were hung about the upper works of a ship for adornment at ceremonies or a screen for the men in action.

to an arrowe out of a crosse bow which burnt in the water a good tyme. The Lady A: and the other women and children were removed into the lower ["quarter" *erased*] decke that they might be out of danger; all things being thus fitted we
Aprill. went [5] to prayer vpon the vpper deck. It was much to see how cheerfull and comfortable all the Company appeared, not a woman or Childe that shewed any feare, though all did apprehend the danger to have been great, if things had proved as might well be expected (for there had been 8: against 4: and the least of the enemyes shippes were reported to carry 30: brass peeces: but our trust was in the Lord of hoasts: and the Courage of our Captain, and his care and dilligence did much incourage vs. It was now about one of the clock and the fleet seemed to be within a league of vs, therefore our Captain (because he would shewe he was not afraid of them, and that he might see the issue before night should overtake vs, tacked about, and stood to meet them. and when we came neere we perceived them to be our friends, the little neptune a shippe of some 20: peeces of ordinance, and her 2: Consorts, bound for the streights,[8] a shippe of flushing and a frenchman, and 3: other English shippes bound for Canada and newfoundland. so when we drewe neere every shippe (as they mett) saluted each other, and the musketteirs discharged their small shott and so (God be praysed) our feare and danger was turned into mirth and friendly entertainment. Our danger being thus over, we espyed 2: boats on fishing in the Channell, so every of our 4: shippes manned out a skiffe, and we bought of them great store of excellent fresh fish of diverse sorts.

Saterday 10: Ap: The winde at E: and by n; a handsome gale with faire weather: by 7: in the morning we were ouer against Plimmouthe.

About noone the winde slacked, and we were come within sight of the Lizard, and towards night it grewe very Calme, and a great fogge, so as our shippes made no waye.

This afternoone mr. Hurlston the master of the Jewell came on our shippe, and our Captain went in his skiff aboard the Ambrose [and] the Neptune of which one mr. Andrewe

[8] The Straits of Gibraltar.

Aprill Cole was master There [6] he was tould that the Bark Warwick, was taken by the Dunkirks for she came single out of the Downes about 14: days since, intending to come to vs to the Wight, but was never heard of since. She was a pretye shippe of about 80: tons: and 10: peeces of ordinance and was sentt out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Captain Mason and others for discovery of the great Lake in N: E:[9] so to have intercepted the trade of Beauer: the master of her was one mr. Weatherell whose father was master of one of the Cattle shippes, which we lefte at Hampton.

This daye 2: yonge men falling at odds and fighting, contrarye to the orders, which we had published and sett vp in the shippe, were adiudged to walk vpon the deck till night with their hands bounde behinde them, which accordingly was executed: and another man for vsing contemptuous speeches in our presence, was layd in bolts till he submitted himselfe and promised open Confession of his offence. I should have noted before that the daye we sett sayle from the Cowes, my son Henry Winthrop went on shore with one of my servants to fetch an oxe and 10: weathers which he had provided for our shippe and there went on shore with him mr. Pelham and one of his servants. They sent the Cattle aboard, but returned not themselves: about 3: days after my servant and a servant of mr. Pelhams came to vs to yarmouthe, and tould vs, they were all cominge to vs in a boat the day before, but the wind was so strong against them, as they were forced on shore in the night, and the 2: servants [7] came to yarmouthe by lande, and so came on shipbord, but my sone and mr. Pelham (we heard) went back to the

Aprill. Cowes, and so to Hampton, we expected them 3: or 4: days after, but they came not to vs, so we have lefte them behinde, and suppose they will come after in mr. Goffes shippes, we were verye sorye they had putt themselves vpon suche inconvenience, when they were so well accommodated in our shippe. This was not noted before, because we expected daylye their returne: and vpon this occasion, I must adde here one observation, that we have manye yonge gentlemen in our shippe, who behave themselves well, and are Con-

[9] Lake Champlain.

formable to all good orders. About 10: at night it cleered vp with a fresh gale at n: and by w: so we stood on our Course merylye.

[*Blank*]

Sundaye Ap: 11. The winde at n: and by w: a verye stiffe gale. about 8: in the morninge beinge gotten paste Sille,[10] and standing to the w: South w: we mett 2: small shippes, which falling in among vs, and the admirall coming vnder our Lee, we let him pass but the Jewell and Ambrose perceiving the other to be a brasill man and to take the winde of vs, shott at them, and made them stoppe and fall after vs, and sent a skiffe abord them, to know what they were. Our Captain fearing lest some mistake might arise, and lest they should take them for enemys, which were friends, and so through the vnrulyness of the mariners some wrong might be done them, caused his skiffe to be heaved out and sent mr. Graves one of his mates and the Pilott (a discreet man) to see how things were, who returned soone after and brought with him the master of one of the shippes and mr. Lowe and mr. Hurlston. when they were come aboard vs, they agreed to send for the Captain, who Came and shewed his Commission from the Prince of Orange. In Conclusion he proved to be a Dutchman [8] a man of warre of flushing, and the other shippe was a prize he had taken laden with sugar and Tobacko, so we sent them aboard their Shippes again and held on our Course. In this tyme (which hindered vs 5: or 6: leages) the Jewell and the Ambrose came foul of each other, so as we much feared the issue, but through Gods mercye they came well off again onely the Jewell had her foresayle torne, and one of her Anchors broken. This occasion, and the sickness of our minister and people, putt vs all out of order this daye so as we could have no sermons.

Munday Ap: 12. The winde more large to the N: a stiffe gale with faire weather, in the afternoone less winde, and our people beganne to growe well again. Our Children and others that were sick, and lay groninge in the Cabbins, we fetched out, and having streched a rope from the steerage to the maine mast,

[10] The Scilly Isles.

we made them stand some of one side and some of the other, and swaye it vp and downe till they were warme, and by this means they soone grew well, and merrye.

Teusdaye 13: The night before it was Calme, and the next days Calme and close weather, so as we made litle waye, the wind with vs, being w:

Wensday 14. The wind S: W: Raynye weather in the morninge: about 9: in the forenoone the winde came about to n: n: w: a stiffe gale, so we tacked about and stood our Course w: S: w:

This daye the Shippe heaved and sett more then before, yet we had but fewe sick, and of these, such as came vp vpon the deck and stirred themselves were presently well againe, therefore our Captain sett our Children and yonge men to some harmeless exercises, which the seamen were verye active in, and did our people much good; though they would sometymes playe the wagges with them. Towards night we were forced to take in some sayle to staye for the viceadmirall which was neere a league a sterne of vs. [9]

Thursday 15. The winde still at n: n: w: faire weather, but less winde then the daye and night before, so as our shippes made but litle waye.

At noone our Captain made observation by the Crosse staffe and founde we were in 47 degs. 37 mint n: lat.

All this forenoone our viceadmirall was much to Leeward of vs, so after dinner we bare vp towards her, and having fetched her vp and spoken with her, the winde being come to S: w: we tacked about and steered our Course w: n: w: lyeing as neere the winde as wee could, and about 4: of the Clocke with a stiffe gale we steered w: and b: n. and at night the winde grewe verye stronge, which putt vs on to the w: amaine. About 10: at night the winde grewe so highe and rayne withall that we were forced to take in our toppsayle, and having lowered our main sayle and foresayle the storme was so great, as it splitt our foresayle, and tore it to peeces; and a knott of the sea washed our tubbe overboard wherein our fish was a watering. the storme still grewe and it was dark with Clouds (though otherwise moonlight) so as (though it was the Jewells turne to carry the light this night yet) least

we should loose or goe fowle one of another, we hanged out a light vpon our mezsen shrouds, and before midnight we lost sight of our viceadmirall.

Our Captain so soone as he had sett the watch at 8: in the evening, called his men, and tould them he feared we should have a storme, and therefore commanded them to be ready vpon the deck, if occasion should be, and himself was vp and
Frydaye 16: downe the deckes all tymes of the night.

About 4: in the morning the winde slacked a litle, yet it continued a great storme still, and though in the afternoone it blewe not muche winde, yet the sea went so high as it tossed vs more then before, and we carried no more but our mainesayle, yet our Shippe steered well with it, which fewe suche shippes could have done. [10]

About 4: in the after noone the winde still w: and b. S. and raynye, we putt on a new foresayle and hoysed it vp, and stoode n: n: w: All this daye our reeradmirall and the Jewell holde vp with vs.

This night was verye stormye.

All this tyme of the storme fewe of our people were sick, (except the women, who kept vnder hatches) and there appeared no fear or dismayedness amonge them.

[*Large blank.*]

aterday 7. , The winde S: w: verye stormye and boystrous: all this tyme we bore no more sayle but our maine sayle, and foresayle, and we steered our Course w: and b: n:

This daye our Captain tould me that our landmen were verye nastye and slouenly and that the gunne deck where they lodged, was so beastly and noysome with their victualls, and beastlyness as would much endanger the healthe of the shippe: herevpon after prayer we took order and appointed 4: men to see to it and to keepe that roome Cleane for 3: dayes, and then 4: others should succeed them and so forth on.

The winde continued all this daye at S: W: a stiffe gale, in the afternoone it cleared vp, but verye hasy. Our Captain about 4: of the Clocke sent one to the toppe to look for our viceadmirall but he Could not descrye him, yet we sawe a

sayle about 2: leagues to the leeward, which stoode towards the n: e:

We were this evening (by our accompt) about 90 leagues
Aprill. from Sille [11] w: and by S: at this place there came a swallowe and lighted vpon our shippe.

Sunday Apr: 18. About 2: in the morninge the winde n: w: so we tacked about and steered our Course S: w: we had still much winde and the sea went verye highe, which tossed our Shippe continually. After our evening sermon about 5: of the Clock the winde came about to S: E: a good gale but raynye, so we steered our Course w: s: w: and the Shippes waye was about 9: leagues a watch (a watch is 4: hrs). This daye the Captain sent to toppe again to discover our viceadmirall, we descried from thence to the Eastward a sayle, but we knewe not what she was.

About 7: of the Clock the Jewell bare vp so neere vs as we could speak eache to other, and after we bated some sayle, so she went a head of vs, and soone after 8: putt forth her light.

Munday 19. In the morninge the winde was come about to the n: w: a good gale and faire weather so we held our Course but the Shippe made not so good waye as when the wind was large. This daye by observation, and account we found our selves to be in 48: d: n: lat. and 220: leagues w: from the meridian of London.

Heere I think good to note that all this tyme since we came from the wight, we had Colde weather, so as we could well endure our warmest Clothes, I wish therefore that all suche as shall pass this waye in the Spring have Care to provide warme clothing for nothing breeds more trouble and danger of sickness in this season then Colde.

In the afternoone the wind came to S: w: a stiffe gale with rayne, so we steered westerly till night, then the winde came about to N: w: and we tacked againe and stood S: w:

Our rereadmirall being to Leeward of vs, we bore vp to him, he tould vs all their people were in health, but one of their Cowes was dead.

Teusday 20. The winde Southerly fair weather and little winde, in the morning we stood S: and by E: in the afternoone w: and by n: [12]

Wensday Apr: 21. Thick raynye weather, much wind at S: W:

Our Captain ouer night had invited his Consorts to have dyned with him this daye, but it was suche foule weather as they could not come aboard vs.

Thursday Apr: 22. The winde still w: and b: S: faire weather, then w: n: w: This daye at noone we found our selves in 47: deg. and 48 minits, and havinge a stiffe gale we steered S: w: about 4: leagues a watche all this daye and all the night followinge.

Fryday 23. The winde still w: n: w a smale gale with faire weather, our Captain putt forthe his Auncient [11] in the poope, and heaved out his skiffe, and lowered his topsayles to give sign to his Consorts that they should come a board vs to dinner, for they were bothe a good waye a sterne of vs, and our vice-admirall was not yet seene of vs since the storme though we sent to the toppe everye daye to descrye her.

About 11: of the Clocke our Captain sent his skiffe, and fetched aboard vs the masters of the other 2: shippes, and mr. Pincheon, and they dined with vs, in the round house, for the Lady and gentlewomen dyned in the great Cabbin.

This daye and the night followinge we had little winde, so as the sea was verye smoothe, and the shippe made litle waye.

Saterdaye 24. The winde still w and by n: faire weather and Calme, all that day and night, here we made observation again and found we were in 45: deg. 20: m: no: latt.

Sunday 25. The winde northerly faire weather, but still calme, we stood w: and b: S and sawe 2 shippes a head of vs, as farre as we could descrye. in the afternoone the winde came w. and b: S: but Calme still, about 5 of the Clock the reereadmirall and the Jewell had fetched vp the 2 shippes, and by their saluting eache other we perceived they were friends (for they were so farre to windward of vs, as we could onely see the smoake of their peeces, but could not heare them) about 9: of the Clocke they both fell backe towards vs again, and we steered n: n: w: now the weather begins to be warme:

Munday 26. The winde still w: and by S: close weather and scarce any wind.

The 2: shippes which we sawe yesterdaye were bound for

[11] Auncient: ancient: ensign.

Canada Captain Kirk [12] was aboard the Admirall. They bare vp with vs, and falling [13] closse vnder our Lee, we saluted eache other, and conferred togither, so being till his vice-admirall was becalmed by our sayles and we were foule one of another, but there being litle winde, and the sea Calme we kept them asunder with oares etc: till they heaved out their boat, and so towed their shippe awaye.

They tould vs for certaine, that the King of France had sett out six of his owne shippes, to recover the fort from them. About one of the Clock Captain Lowe sent his skiffe aboard vs (with a friendly token of his Love to the Governor) to desire our Captain to come aboard his shippe, which he did, and there mett the masters of the other shippes and Captain Kirk, and before night they all returned to their shippes againe, Captain Lowe bestowing some shott vpon them for their wellcome.

The winde now blewe a pretye gale so as our shippes made some waye again, though it were out of our right Course n: w: by n.

Teusday 27 — The winde still westerly a stiffe gale, with close weather: we steered w: n: w. about noone some rayne, and all the daye verye Colde. we appointed teusdays and wensdays to Catechize the people, and this day mr. Philips began it.

Wensday 28. — All this night and this daye till noone the wind verye highe at S: w: close weather, and some rayne, betweene 11: and 12: in a shower, the winde came w: n: w: so we tacked about and stoode S: W:

Thursday 29. — Muche winde all this night at w: and by n: and the sea went verye highe, so as the shippe rolled verye muche, because we sayled but with one Course,[13] therefore about 12: our Captain arose, and Caused the foretopsayle to be hoysted, and then the shippe went more steddye. He caused the quartermaster to look down into the hold to see if the Caske lay fast, and the [*five words illegible.*] In the morninge the winde continued with a stiffe gale, raynye and Colde, all the daye.

[12] In 1629 Gervaise Kirke captured Quebec, which Charles I returned to France in 1632 for an installment of the dowry of Henrietta-Maria.

[13] Each of the sails attached to the lower yards of a ship; now usually restricted to the fore-sail: fore-course.

We had been now 3: weeks at sea, and were not come aboue 300 leagues, being about 1/3 parte of our waye. viz: about 46: n: lat: and neere the meridian of the Terceras.[14]

This night Captain Kirke Carried the light as one of our Consorts.

Friday 30: The winde at w: n: w: a stronge gale all the night and daye with showeres now and then.

We made observations and founde we were in 44. n: lat: at night the wind scanted towards the S: with rayne, so we tacked about and stood n: w: and by n. [14]

May 1: Saterday All the night muche winde at S: S: W: and rayne, in the morninge the winde still stronge, so as we could beare litle sayle: and so it continued a growinge storme all the daye, and towards night so muche winde, as we bore no more sayle but so muche as should keepe the shippe stiffe. Then it grew a verye great tempest, all the night, with fierce showers of rayne intermixed and verye Colde.

Lords day May 2: The tempest continued all the daye with the winde w: and by n. and the sea raged, and tossed vs exceedingly: yet through Gods mercye, we were verye Comfortable, and fewe or none sicke, but had oppertunity to keepe the Sabbathe, and mr. Philipps preached twice that daye. The Ambrose and Jewell were sepated [*sic*] farre from vs, the first night, but this daye we sawe them againe, but Captain Kirks shippes we sawe not since.

Mundaye 3. In the night the wind abated, and by morninge the sea was well aswaged, so as we bare our foresayle againe, and stood w: s: w: but all the tyme of the tempest, we could make no waye, but were driven to the Leeward, and the Ambrose struck all her sayles but her missen, and laye a hull. she brake her maine yarde.

This daye we made observation and founde we were in 43: ½ n: lat. we sett 2: fighters in the bolts till night, with their hands bonde behind them. A maid servant in the Shippe, being stomack sick, dranke so muche stronge water, that she was senseless, and had neere killed her selfe: we observed it a Common fault in our yonge people, that they gave themselues to drinke hott waters verye imoderately.

[14] Terceira, one of the Azores.

Teusday 4. Muche winde at S: w: close weather. In the morninge we tacked about and stood n: w: and about 10: in the morning w: n: w: but made litle waye in regard of the head sea.

Wensday 5. The winde w: and b: S: thick foggy weather and raynye, so we stood n: w: b: w at night the Lorde remembred vs, and enlarged the winde to the n: so we tacked about and stood our Course w: and by S: with a merry gale in all our sayles.

Thursday 6. The winde at n: a good gale, and fair weather. we made observation and founde we were in 43: and ½: n: lat. so we stood full west, and ranne in 24: houres about 30: leagues. [15]

May Fowre things I observed heere. 1: that the declination of the polestarre was muche, even to the view, beneathe that it is in England. 2: that the newe moone, when it first appeared, was much smaller then at any tyme I had seene it in England. 3: that all the waye we came we sawe fowles flying and swimminge, when we had no land neare by 200 leagues. 4: that wheresoever the wind blewe, we had still colde weather, and the sunne did not give so muche heat as in England.

Fryday 7. The winde N: and by E: a smale gale verye faire weather, and towards night a still Calme. This daye our Captain and mr. Lowe dyned abord the Jewell.

Saterday 8. All the night Calme. in the morninge the winde S:W: a handsome gale, so we tacked and stood n: w: and soone after the winde growing more large we stood w: n: w: with a good gale. about 4: of the Clocke we sawe a whale, who laye iust in our shippes waye (the bunche of his back about a yard aboue water) he would not shunne vs, so we passed within a stones cast of him, as he laye spoutinge vp water.

Lords day 9. The winde still S: W: a good gale but close weather and some rayne, we held on our Course w: n: w: about 9: it cleared vp: and towards night a great fogge; for an howre or 2 we were now in 44: ½. n: lat. and a litle west of Corves.[15]

Munday 10: The winde S: S: W: a good gale and faire weather, so we stood w: and by n: 4: or 5: leages a watche, all this daye. the winde increased and was a great storme all the night: At about midnight our rearadmirall putt forth 2 lights, whereby

[15] Corvo, the northernmost of the Azores.

we knewe, that some mischance had befallen her. we answeared her with 2: lights again, and bare vp to her, so neere as we durst (for the sea went verye highe and she laye by the Lee) and havinge hayled her we thought she had sprunge a leake: but she had broken some of her shrouds: so we went a little a head of her, and bringing our foresayle a backe stays we stayed for her: and about 2: howers after she filled her sayles, and we stood our Course togither. but our Captain went not to rest till 4: of the Clocke and some others of vs slept but little that night.

Teusday 11. The storme continued all this daye till 3: in the afternoone; and the sea went verye highe, so as our shippe could make no waye, being able to bear no more but our mainsayl about midmast high: at 3: there fell [16] a great showre of rayne, which layed the winde, and the winde shiftinge into the w: we tacked, and stood into the head sea, to avoyde the rouling of our shippe, and by that meanes we made no waye, the Sea beating vs backe as muche as the winde putt vs forward. we had still could weather, and our people were so acquainted with stormes, as they were not sick nor troubled, thoughe we were muche tossed 48: howers together, viz: 24: duringe the storme, and as longe the next night and daye following when as we laye as it were a Hull, for want of winde, and rouling continually in a high growne sea. This daye was close and raynye.

May

Wensday 12.

Complaint was made to our Captain of some iniurye that one of the vnder officers of the shippe had done to one of our landmen: he called him, and examined the Cause, and Commanded him to be tyed vp by the hands, and a weight to be hanged about his necke, but at the intercession of the Governor (with some difficulty) he remitted his punishment.

At night the winde blewe at S: E: a handsome gale with rayne so we putt forthe our sayles and stood w: and by S:

Thursday 13. Toward morninge the winde came to the S: westerly, with Close weather, and a stronge gale so as before noone we tooke in our topsayles (the reeradmirall having splitt her fore topsayle) and we stood w: Southerly.

Fryday 14. The winde w: s: w: thicke foggye weather and in the afternoone rayne: we stood w: and by S: and after w: and by n:

about 5: leagues a watche, we were in 44: ½. the sunne sett n: w: and by n: 1/3 northerly. and towards night we stood w.

Saterday 15. The winde westerly all this daye faire weather, we tacked twice, to small purpose.

Lords day 16. As the 15. was.

Munday 17 The winde at S: a fine gale and fair weather we stood w: and by S: we sawe a great drifte, so we heaved out our skiffe, and it proved a firre Logge, which seemed to have been many yeares in the water, for it was all ouergrowne with Barnacles, and other trash. We sounded heere, and found no grounde at 100: fathom and more: we sawe 2: whales. [17]

May About 9: at night the winde grewe verye strong at S: W: and continued so with muche rayne till one of the Clock then it seased rayninge, but the winde came to the w: with more violence in this storme, we were forced to take in all our sayles, save our maine sayle, and to lower that so muche as we could:

Tuesday 18: In the morninge the winde slacked, but we could stande no neerer our Course then n: and we had muche winde all this daye. in the afternoone we tacked and stood S: by E: towards night (our reeradmirall being neere 2: leagues to Leeward of vs,) we bare vp, and drawing neer her we descryed some 2: leagues more to Leeward 2: shippes, which we conceived were those 2: of Captain Kirks, which parted from vs in the storm may 2: we had still Cold weather.

Wensday 19. The winde SS: w: close and raynye little winde we tacked again and stood w: but about noone the winde came full w: a verye stronge gale, so we tacked again and stood n: by E: and at night we tooke of our maine bonett,[16] and tooke in all our sayles, save our maine Course and mysen. we were nowe in 44: 12: n: and by our accompt in the midd waye betweene the false Bank and the maine Bank: All this night a great storme at w: b: n.

Thursday 20: The storme continued all this daye the winde as it was and raynye in the forenoone we carried our foresayl, and stood w: s: w. but in the afternoone we took it in, the wind encreasing and the sea growne verye highe: and lying with the helm a weather, we made no waye, but as the shippe drove. we had still cold weather.

[16] Bonnet, formerly a top-sail.

Faste

In the great Cabbin at 9: at night etc., and the next daye again etc. The storme continued all this night.

Fryday 21.

The winde still n: w: litle winde and closse weather. we stood S: W: with all our sayles, but made litle waye, and at night it was a still Calme.

A servant of one of our Companye had bargained with a Childe, to sell him a boxe worthe 3d: for 3: bisketts a daye all the voyage, and had received about 40: and had sold them and many more to some other servants we Caused his hands to be tyed vp to a barre and hanged a baskett with stones about his necke and so he stood 2: howres.

Saterday 22.

The winde S: S: W: muche winde and rayne. our sprit sayl layd so deepe in as it was splitt in peeces with a head sea: at the instant as our Captain was goeing forth of his Cabbin verye early in the morning to give order to take it in: It was a great mercye of God [18] that it did splitt, for otherwise it had endangered the breaking of our bowspritt and toppe masts at least, and then we had had no other waye, but to have returned for England, except the wind had come East: about 10: in the morning, in a very great skwall of winde, it chopt suddainly into the w: as it had done divers tymes before, and so continued with a small gale, and stood n and b: w. About 4: in the afternoone there arose a suddin storme of winde and rayne, so violent, as we had not a greater, it continued thicke and boysterous all the night.

May

About 7: we descryed a sayle a head of vs towards the n: and b: e: which stood towards vs: our Captain supposing it might be our viceadmirall hoysed vp his maine sayle, which before was strucke downe abord, and bare vp to meet her, when we drewe neere her we putt forth our Auntient, and she luffed vp to gett the winde of vs, but when she sawe she could not, she bare vp, and hoysting vp her foresayle, stood awaye before the winde, yet we made all the signs we could, that we ment her no harme, but she would not trust vs; she was within shott of vs, so as we perceived she was a small Frencheman, which we did suppose had been driven off the Banck: when she was cleere of vs she stood her Course again and we ours.

This daye at 12: we made observation, and were about 43:

but the storme putt vs farre to the n: again. still Colde weather.

Lords day 23:

Much winde still westerly and verye Colde weather.

Munday 24:

The winde n: w: by n: a handsome gale and close weather and verye Colde we stood S: W. about noone we had occasion to lye by the Lee, to streighten our missen shrouds and the reeradmirall and Jewell being bothe to windward of vs, bare vp and came vnder our Lee, to enquire if any thing were amiss with vs, so we heard the Companye were in healthe in the Jewell, but that 2 passingers were dead in the Ambrose and one other Cowe.

Tuesday 25.

The winde still n: w: faire weather but Colde, we went on with a handsome gale, and at noone were in 43: ½: and the variation of the Compass was a point and 1/6. All this daye we stood west S: W: about 5. or 6: leagues a watch and towards night the winde enlarged, with a Cold dash of snowye rayne, and then we ranne in a smooth sea about 8: or 9: leagues a watch, and stood due w:

Wensday 26:

The winde still n: w: a good gale and faire weather, but very Colde still yet we were about 43: at night we sounded but founde no grounde. [19]

May 1630 Thursday 27.

The winde n: w: a handsome gale, faire weather. about noone it came about to the S: w: and at night rayne, with a stiffe gale and it continued to rayne verye hard till it was neere midnight. This daye our skiffe went aboard the Jewell for a hoggshead of meale which we borrowed, because we could not come by our one, and there came back in the skiffe the master of the Jewell and mr. Revell so our Captain stayed them dinner, and sent for Captain Lowe, and about 2: howers after dinner they went aboard their owne shippes our Captain giving mr. Revell 3: shott, because he was one of the owners of our shippe.

We vnderstood now that the 2: which dyed in the Ambrose, were mr. Cradocks servants, who were sick when they came to sea and one of them should have been left at Cowes, if any house would have received him.

In the Jewell also one of the sea men dyed, a most profane fellowe, and one who was verye iniurious to the passingers, thoughe muche against the will of the master.

At noone we tacked about and stood w: and by n: and so

continued most part of that daye and night following, and had muche rayne till midnight.

Frydaye 28. In the morning the winde veered to the w: yet we had a stiffe gale, and steered n: w: and by n: it was so great a fogge all this daye, as we had lost sight of one of our shippes, and sawe the other some tymes muche to Leeward. we had many feirce showers of rayne, throughout this daye.

At night the miste cleered vp and we sawe bothe our Consorts faire by vs, so the wind being verye scante, we tacked and stoode w: and by S: a Childe was borne in the Jewell about this tyme.

Saterdaye 29. The winde n: w: a stiffe gale, and faire weather, but very colde in the afternoone full n: and towards night n: and by E: so we stood w:

Lords daye 30. The winde no: by E: a handsome gale but Close misty weather and very Colde, so our shippe made good waye in a smoothe sea: and our 3: shippes kept close togither, by our accompt we were in the same meridian with Ile Sable,[17] and $42\frac{1}{2}$.

Mundaye 31. Winde n: w: a smale gale, Close and Colde weather, we sounded but had no grounde: about noone the winde came n: b: E: a stiffe Constant gale, and faire weather so as our shippes waye was 7: 8: and sometymes 12 leagues a watche. this daye about 5. at night we expected the Eclippes[18] but there was not any, the sunne being fair and Clear from 3: till it sett. [20]

June 1: Tuesdaye. The winde N: E: a smale gale, with faire clere weather, in the afternoone full S: and towards night a good gale. we stood w: by n. a woman in our shippe fell in travayle and we sent and had a midwyfe out of the Jewell: she was so farre a head of vs, at this tyme, (though vsually we could spare her some sayle) as we shott of a peece, and lowered our topsayles, and then she brayled[19] her sayles and stayed for vs.

This evening we sawe the newe moone, more then half an hower after sunne sett, being muche smaler then it is at any tyme in England.

[17] Cape Sable.

[18] For a description of this eclipse see *Publications* of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, XII, 196.

[19] Brayle: brail, to haul up.

Wensday 2: The winde S: S: W: a handsome gale verye faire weather, but still Colde: in the eueninge a great fogge. we stood w: and by n: and w: n: w: Our Captain supposing vs now to be neere the n: Coast, and knowing that to the S: there were dangerous shoales, fitted on a newe mainsayle that was verye stronge and double, and would not adventure with his olde sayles, as before when he had sea roome enoughe.

Thursday 3: The winde S: by w: a good steddy gale, and we stood w: and b: n: the fogge continued verye thick, and some rayne withall. we sounded in the morning and again at noone, and had no ground. we sounded again about 2: afternoone, and had ground about 80: fathoms a fine grey sand: so we presently tacked and stood S: S: E: and shott of a peece of ordinance, to give notice to our Consorts, whom we sawe not since last evening.

The fogge continued all this night, and a steddy gale at S: W:

Frydaye. 4. About 4: in the morning we tacked againe (the winde S: W.) and stood w: n: w: The fogge continued all this daye, so as we could not see a stones cast from vs, yet the sunne shone verye bright all the day. we sounded everye 2: howres, but had no grounde.

At night we tacked again and stood S: In the great Cabbin fast.

Saterday 5: In the morning the winde came to n: E: a handsome gale and the fogge was dispersed, so we stood before the winde w: and by n: all the afternoone beinge rayne: at night we sounded, but had no ground.

In the great Cabbin thanksgiving.

It rayned most parte of this night, yet our Captain kept abroad, and was forced to come in in the night to shift his Clothes.

We sounded everye half watche, but had no grounde. [21]

June 1630 Lordsday 6: The winde n: e: and after n. a good gale, but still foggye at tymes, and Colde. we stood w: n: w: bothe to make cape Sable if we might, and also because of the Current, which near the west shoare setts to the S: that we might be the more cleere from the Southerne shoales. viz. of Cape Cod.

About 2: in the afternoone we sounded, and had grounde at about 80: fathom and the miste then breaking vp we sawe

the shore to the n: about 5: or 6: leagues off. and were (as we supposed) to the s: w: of cape Sable, and in 43: 1/4. towards night it calmed and was foggye againe, and the winde came S: and by E: we tacked and stood w: and by n: intending to make land at Aquamenticus [20] being to the n: of the Iles of Shoales.

[undaye The winde S: about 4: in the morninge we sounded and had ground at 30: fathoms and was somewhat Calme, so we putt our shippe a stayes and tooke, in lesse than 2: howres, with a fewe hooks, 67: Coddfishe most of them, verye great fish some 1: yard and 1/2 long and a yard in Compass. This came verye seasonably for our salt fishe was now spent, and we were taking care for victualls this daye (being a fishe daye.[21]

After this we filled our sayles, and stood w n: w: with a smale gale. we hoysted out a great boate to keepe our sounding the better.[22] The weather was now verye Colde: we sounded at 8: and had 50: fathoms and being Calme we heaved out our hooks againe and took 26: Codds, so we all feasted with fish [this] daye.

A woman was delivered of a Childe in our shippe still borne: the woman had divers children before, but none lived, and she had some mischance now which caused her to come neere a month before her tyme, but she did verye well.

At one of the Clocke we had a fresh gale at n: w: and verye faire weather all that afternoone, and warme but the winde failed soone.

All the night the wind was w: and by S: a stiffe gale, which made vs stand to and againe, with smale advantage.

[*Writing on Winthrop's Sketches of the Coast.*]

Legend at top, left half:

when the great hill in the maine Lande
laye n: & b: E: from vs, the rock laye E by n.

[20] York, Maine; this is in different ink of a paler color: the capital A is not Winthrop's.

[21] The only reason for Winthrop's calling Monday June 7, 1630, a "fish day," would be, perhaps, some methodical arrangement of the passengers' diet by calendar.

[22] This sentence Winthrop crossed out.

& the 5: or 6: smale Ilands of low land laye the
foremost n: & the rest more w: eache after other
& seemed to be middwaye towards the mayn

Legend at top, right half:

there we saw other verye high lande to the n: w: which
se[emed] muche neerer then the other high lande: & other
broken lands
to the w: of indifferent height.
we were at this tyme in 43: ½ June 9. & had 60: fath: water
softe oaze.

Legend over left-hand hills:

Thus it seemed at first
in the evening

On diagonal line below:

12 [15 *erased*] leg:

Legend on right-hand hills:

thus it seemed next daye
this lyes in 44.

Legend below that:

5. or 6. lowe ilands lye ther
this rock lyes thus
a litle aboue water. neere no lande by 3: or 4: leg.

At right angles to it:

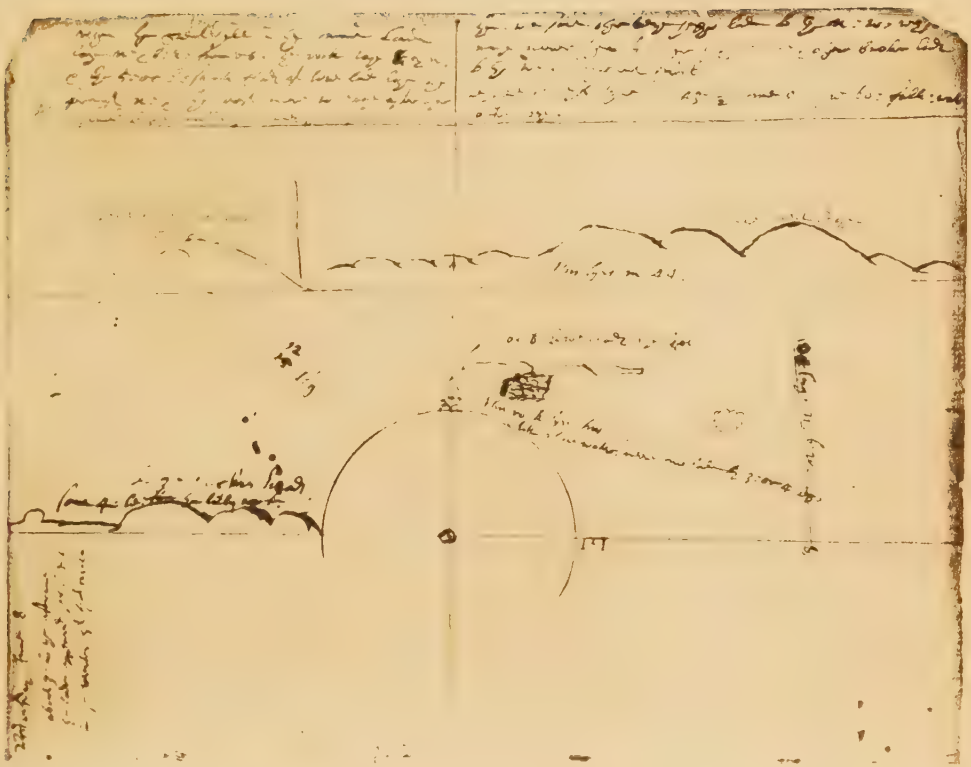
10 leg, n: b: w:

Below, to left:

the 3: turkes heads.
some 4 le: from the litle rocke.

Lower left corner:

Tuesday June 8.
about 3: in the afternoone
the lande appeared thus to vs
in the Center of this circle



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Winthrop's Chart in the Gulf of Maine

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The wind still w: and by S: faire weather, but close and colde. we stood n: n: w: with a stiffe gale, and about 3: in the afternoone we had sight of land to the n: w: about ten: [23] leagues which we supposed [24] was the Iles of monhegen,[25] but it proved Mount Mansell: [26] then we tacked and stood w: s: w: we had now faire sunneshine weather, and so pleasant a sweet ayre, as did muche refreshe vs, and there came a smell off the shore like the smell of a garden.

There came a wild pigeon into our shippe and another small land birde. [22]

In the morning the winde easterly, but grewe presently calme, now we had verye faire weather and warme about noone the winde came to S: W: so we stood w: n: w: with a handsome gale and had the maine lande vpon our starbord all that daye about 8: or 10: leagues off: it is verye highe lande, lying in many hilles verye vnequall. At night we saw manye small Ilands being low lande betweene vs and the maine about 5: or 6: leagues off vs, and about 3: leagues from vs towards the maine a small rocke [27] a little above water. At night we sounded and had soft oazy ground at 60: fathoms so the winde being now skant at w: we tacked again and stood s: s: w: we were now in 43: ½. This highe lande which we sawe we iudged to be at the w: Cape of the great Baye [28] which goeth towards porte Royall, called mount desert or mount mansell, and no Iland but part of the maine [29] In the night the wind shifted ofte.

In the morning the winde S: and by w: till 5: in the morning a thick fogge. then it cleered vp with faire weather, but somewhat Closs: after we had runne some 10: leagues w: and by S: we lost sight of the former land but made other highe lande on our starre board as farre of as we could descrye:

[23] This word "ten" Winthrop wrote in later, above a figure 8, which he had crossed out.

[24] The words "we supposed" are a later insertion.

[25] As originally written, the portion of this sentence between the colons read: "about 8 leagues which was the Iles of monhegen."

[26] At this point Winthrop wrote in, above the line, and probably later: "but it proved otherwise." Later still he struck out "otherwise" and inserted the words "Mount Mansell."

[27] Matinicus Rock.

[28] The Bay of Fundy.

[29] It must, however, have been the Camden Hills on Penobscot Bay.

but we lost it againe.[30] The winde continued all this daye at S: a stiffe steddy gale, yet we bare all our sayles and stood w: s: w: about 4: in the afternoone, we made land on our starbord bowe, called the 3: turks heads,[31] being a ridge of 3 hilles vpon the mayne, whereof the Southmost is the greatest, it lyes neere Aquamenticus. we descryed also an other hill more northward which lyes by Cape Porpus. we sawe also a head of vs some 4: leagues from shore a small rocke, not aboue a flight shoot ouer, which hathe a dangerous shoal to the east and by S: of it some 2: leagues in length. we kept our luff and weathered it, and lost it on our starboard about 2: miles off. towards night we might see the trees in all places verye playnly, and a small hill to the Southward of the Turks heads; all the rest of the lande to the S: was plain lowe land: heere we had a fine fresh smell from shore. Then least we should not get Cleare of the Ledge of rocks which lye vnder water from within a flight shoot of the said rocke (called Boone Ile which we had now brought n: e: from vs) towards Pascataquay: we tacked and stood S: E: with a stiffe gale at S: by w;

Called Boone Ile.[32]

Fryday 11. The winde still s: w: close weather, we stood to and again all this day within sight of [Cape] Ann. the iles of Sholes were now within 2: leagues of vs, and we sawe a shippe lye there at Anchor and 5: or 6: shallopps vnder sayle vp and downe.

We tooke many mackerells: and mett a shallop which stood from Cape Anne towards the Iles of Shoals. [24] which belonged to some English fishermen.

June Saterday 12. About 4: in the morning we were neere our porte. we shott of 2: peeces of ordinance, and sent our skiffe to mr. Peirce his shippe (which laye in the harbour and had been here [*blank*] dayes before) about an hower after mr. Allerton came abord vs in a shallop as he was sayling to Pemaquid. as we stood towards the harbour, we sawe an other shallop coming to vs, so we stood in to meet her, and passed throughe the narrow streight betweene Bakers Ile and Little Ile,[33] and came to an Anchor a litle within the Ilands.

[30] The White Mountains.
[31] Mt. Agamenticus.
[32] This marginal note is in paler ink.
[33] Little Misery Island.

After mr. Peirce came aboard vs, and returned to fetch mr. Endicutt who came to vs about 2: of the Clock, and with him mr. Skelton and Captain Levett. We that were of the assistants and some other gentlemen, and some of the women and our Captain returned with them to Nahumkeck,[34] where we supped with a good venyson pastrye, and good beere, and at night we returned to our shippe, but some of the women stayed behind.

In the meane tyme most of our people went on shore vpon the land of Cape Anne which laye verye neare vs, and gathered store of fine strawberries.

An Indian came abord vs, and laye there all night:

In the morning the Sagamore of Agawame and one of his men came aboard our shippe and stayed with vs all daye.

About 2: in the afternoone, we descryed the Jewell, so we manned out our skiffe, and wafted them in, and they went as neere the harbour as the tyde and winde would suffer:

In the morning early we weyed anchor, and the winde being against vs, and the Channell so narrowe as we could not well turne in, we warped in our shippe, and came to an Anchor in the inward harbor.[35]

In the afternoone we went with most of our Companye on shore, and our Captain gave vs 5: peeces.

[*Large blank.*]

We went to mattachusetts to find out a place for our sitting downe. we went vp mistick river about 6: miles.

We laye at mr. Maverocks,[36] and returned home on saterdaye, as we came home we came by nataskett, and sent for Captain Squib a shore, (he had brought the westcountrye[37] people viz. mr. Ludlowe mr. Rossiter mr. Maverock etc., to the bay who were sett downe at mattapan) and ended a difference betweene him and the passingers, wherevpon he

[34] A small cross before this word corresponds with a similar cross before "Salem," written in the margin — all in paler ink and Winthrop's hand.

[35] Probably what is now called Beverly Harbor, just above the present railway bridge; but some authorities believe that the *Arbella* anchored in the South River, the inner part of Salem Harbor.

[36] Mr. Maverick lived on Noddle's Island, now East Boston.

[37] "Plimouth" is crossed out.

sent his boat to his shippe (the Mary and John) and at our parting gave vs 5: peeces: at our returne we founde the Ambrose in the harbour at Salem.

July 1: The mayflower and the whale arived safe in Charlton [38] harbour. Their passengers were all in healthe but most of their Cattle dead, (whereof a mare and horse of mine) some stonehorses came over in good plight.

July 2 friday The Talbott arived there she had lost 14: passingers. my sonne H: W: was drowned at Salem.

Saterday 3: The Hopewell and William and Francis arived.

Mundaye 5. The Tryall arrived, at Charlton, and the Charles at Salem.

Teusday 6. The Success arived: she had [*blank*] goats and lost [*blank*] of them and manye of her passingers were neere starved etc.

Wensdaye 7: The Lyon went back to Salem.

Thursdaye 8. We kept a daye of thanksgiving in all the plantations.

Thursday 18: Captain Endicott and [*blank*] Gibson [39] were married by the Governor and mr. Wilson.

Aug: 20. Saturday The French shippe called the Guifte came into the harbour at Charlton: she had been 12: weeks at sea and lost one passinger and 12: goats. she delivered 6.

Mundaye Mundaye we kept a Court.

Friday 27: We of the Congregation kept a fast, and chose mr. wilson our teacher; and mr. nowell an Elder, and mr. Gager and mr. Aspenall decons, we vsed imposition of hands but with this protestation by all that it was onely as a signe of Election and confirmation, not of any intent that mr. wilson should renounce his ministry he received in Englande.

Sept: 20. Mr. Gager dyed.[40]

Sept: 30. About 2: in the morning mr. Isaak Johnson dyed, his wife the Lady Arbella of the house of Lincoln being dead about 1: month before: he was a holy man and wise and died in sweet peace, leaving some parte of his substance to the Colonye. [26]

[38] The first version of the name Charlestown.

[39] Elizabeth Gibson, the first Mrs. Endecott having died at Salem.

[40] A surgeon, and one of Winthrop's household.

The woules killed 6: Calues at Salem: and they killed one woulfe.

Thomas morton adiudged to be imprisoned till he were sent into England, and his house burnt downe, for his many iniuries offered to the Indians, and other misdemeanors. Captain Brooke master of the Gifte refused to carrye him.[41]

[*Large blank.*]

Finche of waterton had his wigwam burnt and all his goods.

Billington executed at Plimouth for murdering one.[42]

Mr. Philips the minister of waterton and others had their haye burnt.

The woules killed some swine at Saugus.

A Cowe dyed at Plimouth, and a goat at Boston with eating Indian Corne.

ctob: 23: Mr. Rossiter one of the Assistants dyed.

5: Mr. Colburne (who was chosen deacon by the Congregation a weeke before) was invested by imposition of hands of the minister and elder.

The Governor vpon consideration of the inconveniences which had growne in England, by drinking one to another, restrayned it at his owne table and wished others to doe the like, so as it grewe by little and little to dysvse. [27]

ctob: 29. The handmaid arived at Plimouthe, having been 12: weekes at sea, and spent all her masts, and of 28: Cowes she lost 10: she had about 60: passengers, who came all well: John Graunts master.

Mr. Goffe wrote to me that his shippinge this yeare had vtterly vndone him.

She brought out 28: heifers, but brought but 17: aliue.

ov: 11. The master came to Boston with Captain Standishe and 2: gentlemen passingers, who came to plant here, but havinge no testimony we would not receive them.

o. [*Blank*] Firmin of Waterton had his wigwam burnt: divers had their haye stacks burnt, by burning the grasse.

7. Three of the Governors servants were from this daye to the

[41] This was the notorious Thomas Morton of Merrymount.

[42] The second hanging on the territory of New Plymouth: Bradford, *History of Plimmoth Plantation,* (1912) II, 111, n. 1.

1. of Dec. abroad in his skiffe among the Islands in bitter frost and snowe, (being kept from home by the n: w: winde, and without victualls, at length they got to mount woollaston,[43] and lefte their boat there and came home by lande. laus Deo.

Dec. 6: The Governor and most of the Assistants and others mett at Rocksburrie and then agreed to build a towne fortified vpon the necke betweene that and Boston, and a Comittee was appointed to consider of all things requisite etc.

14. The Comittee mett, at Rocks: and vpon further Consideration for reasons it was concluded that we could not have a towne in the place aforesaid 1: because men would be forced to keepe 2: families 2: there was no runninge water and if there were any springes they would not suffice the towne; the most parte of the people had built allready and would not be able to build againe, so we agreed to meet at waterton that day sennight and in the meane tyme other places should be viewed.

Capt. Neale arrives. Captain Neale and 3: other gentlemen came hether to vs, he came in the Barke warwick this summer to Pascataway, sent as Gouernor there for Sir Ferdinand Gorges and others. [28]

December 21: We mett againe at Waterton, and there vpon view of a place a mile beneathe the towne, all agreed it a fitt place for a fortified towne, and we took tyme to Consider further about it.[44]

24. Till this tyme there was (for the most part) fair open weather with gentle frosts in the night. But this daye the winde came n: w: verye stronge and some snowe withall but so Colde as some had their fingers frozen and in danger to be lost. 3: of the Governors servants coming in a shallop from mistick, were driven by the wind vpon Noddles Ilande and forced to staye there all that night without fire or foode yet throughe Gods mercye they came safe to Boston next daye, but the fingers of 2: of them were blistered with Colde, and one swooned when he came to the fire.

26. The rivers were frozen vp, and they of Charlton could not come to the Sermon at Boston, till the afternoone at highe water.

[43] The site of Morton's Merrymount.

[44] The "fitt place" is now Cambridge.

Manye of our Cowes and goats were forced to be still abroad for want of houses.

2. Richard Garrard a shoemaker of Boston, and one of the Congregation there, with one of his daughters a yonge mayd, and 4: others went towards Plimouth in a Shalloppe, against the advise of his friends, and about the Gurnette nose the wind ouerblewe so muche at n: w: as they were forced to come to a Killick [45] at 20: fath: but their boat drave, and shaked out the stone, and they were putt to sea, and the boat took in muche water, which did freese so hard, as they could not free her: so they gave themselues for lost, and Comending themselues to God, they disposed themselues to dye, but one of their Company espying land neere Cape Cod, they made shift to hoyst vp part of their sayle, and [29] by Gods special providence, were Carried through the rocks to the shore, where some gate on lande, but some had their legges frozen into the Ice so as they were forced to be cutt out: being come on shore they kindled a fire, but having no hatchet they could gett little wood, and were forced to lye in the open ayre all night, being extremely Colde: in the morninge 2 of their Companye, went towards Plimouth (supposing it had beene within 7: or 8 miles; whereas it was neere 50: myles from them) by the waye they mett with 2: Indian Squaws, who coming home tould their husbands that they had mett 2: Englishmen, they thinking (as it was) that they had been shippwrecked, made after them and brought them back to their wigwam, and entertayned them kindly and one of them went with them the next daye to Plimothe and the other went to find out their boat, and the rest of their Company which were 7: myles of: and having founde them, he holpt them what he could, and returned to his wigwam and fetched a hatchet, and built them a wigwam, and covered it, and gote them wood (for they were so weak and frozen as they could not stirre, and Garrard dyed about 2 dayes after his landing and the ground being so frozen as they could not digge his grave, the Indian hewd a hole about ½ yard deepe with his hatchet, and having layd the Corps in it, he

[45] A kind of anchor formed by a stone, inclosed by pieces of wood fastened together.

layd ouer it a great heape of wood, to kepe it from the woulues: by this tyme the Gouernor of Plimouth had sent 3: men to them with provisions who being come and not able to launche their boat, (which with the strong n: w: wind was driven vp to the highe water mark) the Indian returned to Plimouth, and fetched 3: more, but before they came, they had launched their boat, and with a fair Southerly winde were gotten to Plimouth, where another of their Company dyed, his flesh being mortified with the frost) and the 2: who went towards Plimouthe dyed allso, one of them being not able to gett thether, and the other had his foot so froze, as he dyed of it after: the girl escaped best and one Harwood a godly man of the Congregation of B: laye long vnder the Surgeons hands: and it was aboue 6: weekes before they could gett the boat from Plimouthe, and in their returne they were muche distressed, yet their boate was verye well manned, the want whereof before was the Cause of their loss.

January A house at dorchester was burned downe.

Febr: 11. Mr. Freemans house at waterton was burned downe, but being in the daye tyme, his goods were saved. [30]

Febr: 5. The shippe Lyon mr. Wm: Peirce master, arived at Nataskat, she brought mr. williams [46] (a godly minister) with his wife, mr. Throgmorton, [*blank*] Perkins, [*blank*] Onge and others with their wives and Children, about 20: passingers, and about 200: tons of goods: she sett sayle from Bristou [47] december 1: she had a verye tempestuous passage, yet through Gods mercye all her people came safe, except Waye his sone, who fell from the spritsayle yarde in a tempest and could not be recovered though he kept in sight neere 1/4 of an houre; her goods also came all in good condition.

8: The Governor went aboard the Lyon ryding by long Iland.[48]

9: The Lyon came to an Anchor before Boston, where she rode verye well notwithstanding the great drift of Ice.

10: The frost brake vp, and after that, though we had many snows and sharpe frosts yet they continued not, neither were

[46] This is the famous Roger Williams, one of the founders of Rhode Island.

[47] One of the obsolete spellings of Bristol (*Encyclopædia Britannica* (1929) IV, 156).

[48] In Boston Harbor.

the waters frozen vp as before: (it hathe been observed ever since this baye was planted by Englishmen viz: 7: yeares) [49] that at this daye the frost hath broke vp everye yeare. The poorer sort of people (who laye long in tents etc:) were much afflicted with the Sckirvye, and many dyed, especially at Boston and Charles towne, but when this shippe came, and brought store of Juice of Lemons, manye recovered speedyly. It hath been allways observed heere, that such as fell into discontent and lingered after their former Conditions in England, fell into the skirvy and dyed.[50]

Captain Welden, a hopefull yonge gentleman and an experienced soldier, dyed at Charles towne of a Consumption, and was buryed at Boston with a militarye funerall.

Of the olde planters, and suche as came the yeare before, there were but 2: (and those servants) which had the skirvy in all the Contrye. At Plimouthe not any had it, no not of those who came this year whereof there were aboue 60: whereas at their first planting there, more then half their people dyed of it.

A shallop of mr. Glovers was cast awaye vpon the rocks about nahant, but the men were saved.

Of those who went backe in the shippes this summer for feare of deathe or famine etc: many dyed, by the way, and after they were landed, and others fell verye sick and low etc: [31]

The Ambrose whereof Captain Lowe was master, being newe masted at Charlton, spent all her masts neere newfoundland, and had perished, if mr. Peirce in the Lyon, who was her Consort had not towed her home to Bristou. of the other shippes which returned, 3: viz: the Charles, the Succesee, and the Whale, were sett vpon by Dunkirks neere Plimouth in England, and after longe fight having lost manye men and being muche torne (except the Charles) they gat in to Plimouthe.

The provisions which came to vs this yeare, came at excessive rates, in regard of the deerness of Corne in England, so

[49] This fixes, approximately, the date of the settling of the first planters about the harbor: Blaxstone, Maverick etc.

[50] This comment is characteristic of Winthrop and his contemporaries: the proper explanation of this trick of thought is superstition, not ill will.

as everye bushel of wheat meal stood vs in 14 *s.* peas 11 *s.* etc. Tunnage etc. was 6 *li.* 11 *s.*

22. We helde a daye of thanksgiving for this shippes arivall: by order from the Governor and Councell directed to all the plantations.

March 16. About noone the Chimnye of mr. Sharps howse in Boston tooke fire (the splenters being not clayed at the toppe,) and taking the thatche burned it downe, and the winde being n: w: drive the fire to mr. Colburnes howse being [*blank*] rods off and burnt that downe allso, yet they saved most of their goods.

23. Chickatabot[1] came with his Sanapps and Squaes, and presented the Gouernor with a hhd. of Indian Corne. after they had all dined and had eache a small cupp of sacke and beads and the men tabacko: he sent awaye all his men and woomen (though the gouernor would have stayed them in regard of the rayne and thunder) himself and one squa and one Sanopp stayed all night, and being in English Clothes the Governor sett him at his owne table, where he behaved himself as soberly etc. as an Englishman. the next daye after dinner he returned home the Governor giving him Cheese and peas and a rugge and some other small things.

26. John Sagamore and James his brother with diuers Sanopps came to the Gouernor to desire his Letter, for recoverye of 20: beaver skins which one Watts in England had cosened him of: the Governor entertayned them kindly and gave him his Letter, with directions to mr. Downing in England. The night before Allarme was given in divers of the plantations: it arose through the shootinge off some peeces at Waterton, by occasion of a Calf which Sir Richard S: had lost and the souldiers were sent out with their peeces to try the wildernes from thence till they might find it. [32]

March: 29: Sir Richard Saltonstall and his 2: daughters and one of his yonger sons (his 2: eldest sons remayned still in the Countrye) came downe to Boston, and stayed that night with the Gouernor, and the next morning by 7: of the Clock, accompanyed with mr. Peirce and others in 2 shallopps

[1] This sachem, who had a wigwam on the eastern side of the Neponset River, died in November, 1633.

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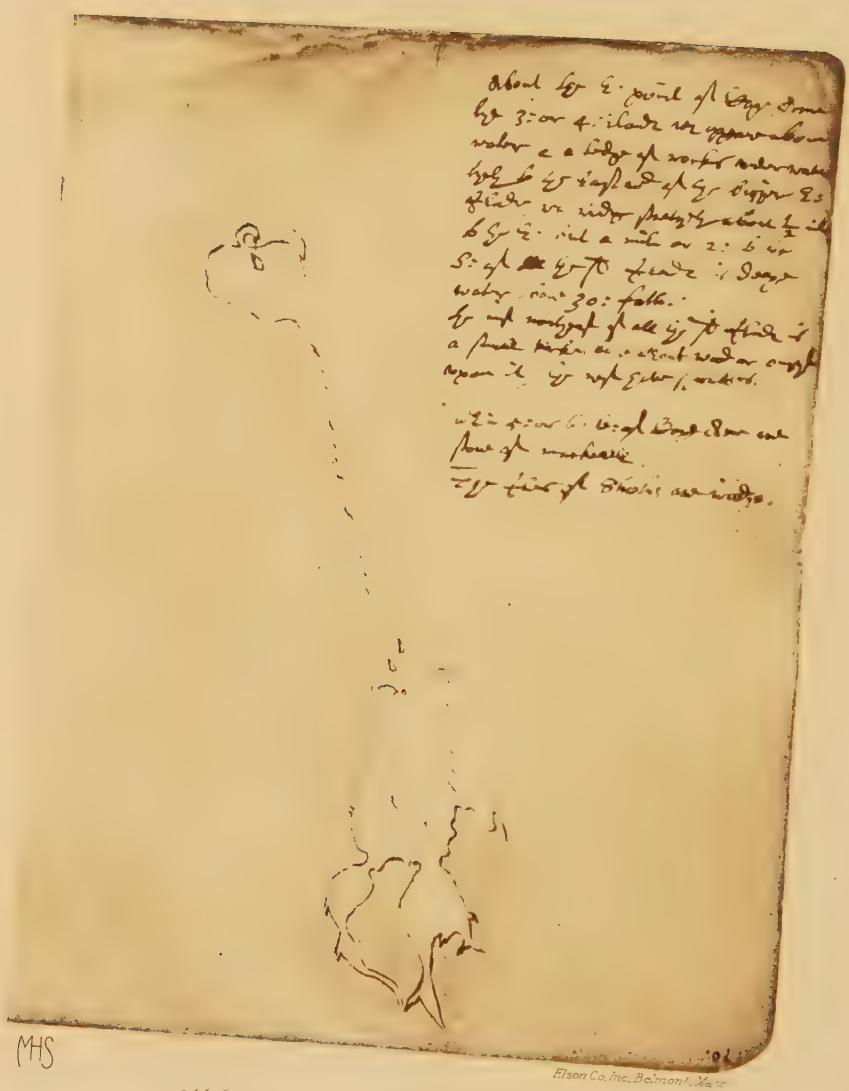

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Winthrop's Chart off Cape Ann

they departed to goe to the shippe riding at Salem: the Gouernor gave them 3: drakes at their setting sayle, the winde being n: w: a stiffe gale, and full sea. mr. Sharpe went awaye at the same tyme in another shallopp:

About 10: of the Clocke, mr. Coddington and mr. Willson and diverse of the Congregation mett at the Gouernors, and there mr. Willson praying and exhorting the Congregation to Love etc., Commended to them the exercise of prophesy [2] in his absence, and designed those whom he thought most fitt for it, viz. the Gouernor, mr. Dudly and mr. Nowell the elder. then he desired the Governor to Commend himselfe and the rest to God by prayer, which being done, they accompanyed him to the boat, and so they went ouer to Charles towne, to goe by lande to the shippe. This shippe sett sayle from Salem Apr: 1, and arrived at London (all safe) Apr: 20.[3]

[2] In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and even later, "prophecy" was a word used for the exposition of the Scriptures, in conference, and by preaching.

[3] This last sentence is written on the left-hand margin, having been entered, apparently, some time later.

Winthrop's Chart off Cape Ann

The chart on the page opposite is without date. The writing on it is printed below.

About the E: part of Cape Anne lye 3: or 4: ilandes which appeare aboue water & a ledge of Rocks vnder water lyeth to the Eastward of the bigger E: Ilande, which ridge stretcheth about mile to the E: but a mile or 2: to the South: of the said Ilandes is deepe water aboue 30: fath:

the most northeast of all the said Ilandes is a small Rocke, bare without wood or ought vpon it, the rest have shrubbes. within 5: or 6: le: of Cape Anne are store of mackerell.

The Iles of Sholes are woodye.

THE PLANTERS PLEA

THE PLANTERS PLEA

THE Planters Plea was printed in London in 1630 soon after the sailing of the Winthrop Fleet.[1] Although it is one of the most valuable of contemporary accounts of the settlement of the Massachusetts-Bay, it seems long to have been unknown to historians; Cotton Mather, Prince, and Hutchinson do not mention it. Young first made use of it, printing an extract which he called "White's Brief Relation" in 1846.[2] "I. H." (probably John Humfrey) seems to refer to the preparation of *The Planters Plea* in the preface to John Cotton's sermon "God's Promise to his Plantation," delivered just before the sailing of Winthrop and his companions: "Ere long, (if God will,) thou shalt see a larger declaration of the first rise and ends of this enterprise, and so clear and full a justification of this design, both in respect of that warrant it hath from God's word, and also in respect of any other ground and circumstance of weight that is considerable in the warrant of such a work, as (I hope) there will easily be removed any scruple of moment which hitherto hath been moved about it."

Apparently the only external evidence of the authorship of *The Planters Plea* was at one time in the hands of Young, who writes:[3] "It has generally been ascribed to the Rev. John White, of Dorchester, England, of whom some account will be given hereafter. The copy which I use, and which formerly belonged to Increase Mather, has on the title-page, in his hand-writing, 'Mr. White, of Dorchester, Author.' This may be considered good authority, as Increase Mather probably derived his information from his father, Richard, who came over in 1635, or from some other of the first settlers." The copy to which Young refers can not now be found.

[1] For a good description of the vessels and the passengers of the Winthrop Fleet, see Charles Edward Banks, *The Winthrop Fleet* (Boston, 1930).

[2] Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 3–16.

[3] *Ibid.*, 16, n.

John White (1575–1648) was born at Stanton St. John, Oxfordshire, "in the time of Christmas," and was graduated from New College, Oxford, where he remained a Fellow until 1606. He left Oxford, it seems, a man of moderate opinions in matters of religion and was presented to the rectory of Trinity at Dorchester in November, 1605, where he became famous for his good works, especially on the occasion of the disastrous fire of 1613. He was concerned with the founding of the Dorchester Company in 1623 — a futile effort to build up a colony out of a combination of fishermen and farmers. His long and earnest interest in the settlement of New England has been somewhat obscured by two facts: first, he never emigrated, and second, after 1642, the Civil War divided his attention till his death.[4]

The Planters Plea has been printed twice.[5] The following text is printed from the so-called Barlow copy in the Boston Public Library. This copy, which once belonged to the historian, John Farmer, and thereafter to Samuel Latham Mitchill Barlow of New York, is a perfect one. It has been collated with those in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Boston Athenaeum, both slightly damaged copies.

[4] For the best account of the life and work of White, see Samuel E. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony* (Boston, 1930), 21–50: "Master John White, of Dorchester."

[5] Force's *Tracts* (Washington, 1838) II, and G. P. Humphrey, *American Colonial Tracts* (Rochester, N. Y., 1898) II.

THE PLANTERS PLEA

OR

the grovnds of plantations examined and vsuall objections answered

Together with a manifestation of the causes mooving such as have lately vndertaken a Plantation in Nevv-England: For the satisfaction of those that question the lawfulnesse of the Action

2 Thes. 5. 21

Prove all things, and holde fast that which is good

LONDON
Printed by WILLIAM IONES
1630

To The Reader.

Courteous Reader:

It will appeare to any man of common sense at first sight, that this rude draught, that sets forth certaine considerable grounds in planting Colonies, being wrested out of the Authours hand, hardly overlooked, much lesse filed and smoothed for the Presse, was never intended to be presented to publicke view, especially in this attire: wherefore the Reader is intreated to observe, that the particulars of this small Pamphlet, being all ranged under these two heads, matters of Fact or of Opinion: In the former the Authour sets downe his knowledge, and consequently what he resolves to justifie; In the latter what he conceives to be most probable, not what he dares warrant as certaine and infallible. Wherefore if in the declaring of his owne opinion, either concerning Colonies in general, or this in particular, he propose anything that to men of better and more solid judgement upon mature advise shall seeme either not sound, or not evident, or not well fortified by strength of reason; he desires rather advertisement thereof by some private intimation, than by publicke opposition, as not conceiving an argument of this na-
[iv] ture, wherein neither Gods glorie nor mans salvation have any necessary interest, (though the worke be directed to, and doth in a good measure further both,) worth the contending for in a time when so many weighty controversies in the fundamentalls of religion are in agitation: and withall professing himselfe willing to receive backe any light golde that hath passed from him unweighed, and to exchange it for that which will be weight, as being conscious to himselfe, that he desires not willingly to beguile any man. Besides, the Reader may be pleased further to observe, that seeing the arguments produced in this Treatise are rather proposed than handled, they cannot carry with them that appearant and cleare evidence of truth at the first view, as

they might and would doe, if they were more largely deduced, and more fully fortified. Wherefore he is intreated not to reject them too easily, as carrying more weight than they seeme to doe at the first appearance. Howsoever the Authors intention and opinion be construed and approved; if it may be beleeved that the Gentlemen that are lately issued out from us, to lay the foundation of a Colony in New-England, have not beene thrust forward by unadvised precipitation, but led on by such probable grounds of reason and religion, as might be likely to prevaile with men that desire to keepe a good conscience in all things: I trust these will holde themselves reasonably satisfied; howsoever both they, and such as wish the furtherance of your designe, have (I assure myselfe) a testimonie from God and your owne consciences, that they have endeavoured to take there footing upon warrantable grounds, and to direct themselves to a right scope, as will be further manifested in this ensuing Treatise. [v]

A BRIEF SVRVIEW OF COLONIES:

And first,

Of their Ground and Warrant.

Chap. 1.

By a Colony we meane a societie of men drawne out of one state or people, and transplanted into another Countrey.

1. That Colonies have their warrant from God.
1. Argument from Gods Commandement.

Colonies (as other conditions and states in humane society) have their warrant from Gods direction and command; who as soone as men were, set them their taske, to replenish the earth, and to subdue it, *Gen.* 1.28. Those words, I grant, expresse a promise, as the title of a benediction prefixed unto them here, and in the repetition of them to *Noah,* implies. *Gen.* 9.1. But that withal they include a direction or command was never, as I conceive, doubted by any. *Iunius* upon them: [2] *Prout vim intus indiderat, sic palam mandatum dedit curandæ propagationis et dominationis exercendæ.* And *Parœus, Iubet igitur replere terram, non solum generatione et habitatione, sed cum primis potestate cultu et usu: Etsi vero nonnulæ orbis partes manent inhabitabiles; habemus nihilominus totius dominium iure Divino, licet non habeamus totius orbis usum culpâ et defectu nostro.* And before them, *Calvin; Iubet eos crescere et simul benedictionem suam destinat, etc.* and divers others.

It will be granted then that the words include and have the force of a Precept, which perhaps some may conceive was to continue during the worlds Infancy, and no longer; but such a limitation wants ground. It is true that some commandements founded upon, and having respect unto some present state and condition of men, received end or alteration when the condition was ended, or changed. But Precepts

given to the body of mankind, as these to *Adam* and *Noah,* receive neither alteration in the substantials, nor determination while men, and any void places of the earth continue, so that allowing this Commandement to bind *Adam,* it must binde his posterity, and consequently our selves in this age, and our issue after us, as long as the earth yeelds empty places to be replenished.

2. Argument from Gods gift of the earth to men.

Besides, the gift of the earth to the sonnes of men, *Psal.* 115.16. necessarily inforceth their duty to people it: It were a great wrong to God to conceive that hee doth ought in vaine, or ten- [3] ders a gift that he never meant should be enjoyed: now how men should make benefit of the earth, but by habitation and culture cannot bee imagined.

Neither is this sufficient to conceive that Gods intention is satisfied if some part of the earth be replenished, and used, though the rest be wast; because the same difficulty urgeth us still, that the rest of which we receive no fruit, was never intended to us, because it was never Gods minde wee should possesse it. If it were then the minde of God, that man should possesse all parts of the earth, it must be enforced that we neglect our duty, and crosse his will, if we doe it not, when wee have occasion and opportunitie: and withall doe little lesse then despise his blessing.

3. Argument from the Law of marriage.

Withall, that order that God annexed to marriage in his first institution, *viz.* that married persons should leave father and mother, and cleave each to other, is a good warrant of this practice. For sometime there will be a necessitie, that yong married persons should remove out of their fathers house, and live apart by themselves, and so erect new families. Now what are new families, but pettie Colonies: and so at last removing further and further they overflow the whole earth. Therefore, so long as there shall be use of marriage, the warrant of deducing Colonies will continue.

4. Argument from the benefit that comes to mens outward estates.

It is true, that all Gods directions have a double scope, mans good, and Gods honour. Now [4] that this commandement of God is directed vnto mans good temporall and spirituall, is as cleere as the light. It cannot be denyed but the life of man is every way made more comfortable, and afforded a more plentiful supply in a larger scope of ground, which moves men to bee so insatiable in their desires to joyne house

to house, and land to land, till there be no more place; exceeding, I grant, therein the measure and bounds of Iustice; and yet building upon a principle that nature suggests, that a *large place best assures sufficiency:* as we see; by nature, trees flourish faire, and prosper well, and waxe fruitfull in a large Orchard, which would otherwise wither and decay, if they were penned up in a little nursery: either all, or at best, a few that are stronger plants and better rooted, would encrease and over-top, and at last, starve the weaker: which falls out in our civill State; where a few men flourish that are best grounded in their estates, or best furnished with abilities, or best fitted with opportunities, and the rest waxe weake and languish, as wanting roome and meanes to nourish them.

Now, that the spirits and hearts of men are kept in better temper by spreading wide, and by pouring, as it were, from vessell to vessell (the want whereof is alleaged by the Prophet *Ieremy* as the cause that *Moab* setled vpon his lees, and got so harsh a relish *Ier.* 48. 11.) will bee euident to any man, that shall consider, that the husbanding of unmanured grounds, and shifting into [5] empty Lands, enforceth men to frugalitie, and quickneth invention: and the setling of new States requireth justice and affection to the common good: and the taking in of large Countreys presents a naturall remedy against couetousnesse, fraud, and violence; when euery man may enjoy enough without wrong or injury to his neighbour. Whence it was, that the first ages, by these helpes, were renowned for golden times, wherein men, being newly entred into their possessions, and entertained into a naked soile, and enforced thereby to labour, frugality, simplicity, and justice, had neither leisure, nor occasion, to decline to idlenesse, riot, wantonnesse, fraud, and violence, the fruits of well-peopled Countryes, and of the abundance and superfluities of long setled States.

5. Argument is from the furthering of godliness and honesty.

But that which should most sway our hearts, is the respect unto Gods honor, which is much advanced by this worke of replenishing the earth. First, when the largeness of his bounty is tasted by setling of men in al parts of the world, wherby the extent of his munificence to the sonnes of men is discovered; The Psalmist tells us that God is much magnified by this, *that the whole earth is full of his riches, yea and*

6. Argument from the aduancement of Gods glory.

the wide sea too, Psal. 104.24.25. And God, when hee would have *Abraham* know what he had bestowed on him when he gave him *Canaan,* wills him to walke through it in the length of it, and in the breadth of it, *Gen.* 13.17.

Secondly, Gods honour must needs bee much [6] advanced, when, together with mens persons, religion is conveyed into the severall parts of the world, and all quarters of the earth sound with his praise; and Christ Iesus takes in the Nations for his inheritance, and the ends of the earth for his possession, according to Gods decree and promise, *Psal.* 2.8.

7. Argument from the abilities wherewith God furnisheth men for this worke.

Besides all that hath beene said, seeing Gods command, and abilities to performe it, usually goe together, we may guesse at his intention and will, to have the earth replenished, by the extraordinarie fruitfulnesse that hee gave to mankinde in those first times, when men manifested their greatest forwardnesse for the undertaking of this taske; which seemes to bee denyed to the latter ages, and peradventure for this reason among others, because the love of ease and pleasure fixing men to the places and Countreyes which they finde ready furnished to their hand, by their predecessors labours and industry, takes from them a desire and will of undertaking such a laborious and unpleasant taske as is the subduing of unmanured Countreyes.

Objection.

But, it may be objected, if God intended now the issuing out of Colonies, as in former ages, hee would withall quicken men with the same heroicall spirits which were found in those times: Which wee finde to be farre otherwise. Although the strong impression upon mens spirits that have beene and are stirred up in [7] *this age to this and other Plantations, might be a sufficient answer to this objection, yet we answer further.*

Answer.

Its one thing to guesse what God will bring to passe, and another thing to conclude what hee requires us to undertake. Shall we say that because God gives not men the zeale of *Moses* and *Phineas,* therefore hee hath discharged men of the duty of executing judgement? It is true indeed, that God

hath hitherto suffered the neglect of many parts of the world, and hidden them from the eyes of former ages; for ends best knowne to himselfe: but that disproves not that the duty of peopling voyd places lyes upon us still, especially since they are discovered and made knowne to us. And, although I dare not enter so farre into Gods secrets, as to affirme, that hee avengeth the neglect of this duty by Warres, Pestilences and Famines, which unlesse they had wasted the people of these parts of the world, wee should ere this, have devoured one another; Yet it cannot be denyed, but the neare thronging of people together in these full Countreyes, have often occasioned amongst us ciuill Warres, Famines, and Plagues. And it is as true that God hath made advantage of some of these Warres, especially which have laid many fruitfull Countreyes wast, to exercise men in these very labours which employ new Planters; by which he hath reduced them to some degrees of that frugality, industry, and justice, [8] which had beene disused and forgotten through long continued peace and plenty.

8. Argument drawne from Gods acknowledgement of peopling the earth to bee his owne worke.

Although no man can define what particular summons the first undertakers of planting Colonies had; whether from the mouth of God immediately (as *Abraham* first, and the Children of Israel afterwards,) or from the advice and Counsell of men; yet, that the wisedome of God directed them in this course, is evident by *Moses* Testimony, affirming that hee separated the Sonnes of *Adam,* and set the bounds of their habitation, *Deut.* 32.8. so that whoever set on the worke, God acknowledgeth it as his owne.

Chap. II.

What ends may bee proposed in planting Colonies?

The Ends that men have proposed to themselves, in issuing out Colonies have been divers: Some, and the worst, and least warrantable are such as are onely swayed by private respects; as when men shift themselves, and draw others with them out of their Countries, out of undutifull

affections to Governours, to exempt themselves from subjection to lawfull power; or aime at a great name to themselves, and to raise their owne glory. As for the enlargement of Trade; which drew on the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Colonies in the East *Indies,* or securing of conquered Countries, which occasioned many Colonies of the *Romanes* in *Italy* and other lands, they may bee so farre warranted, as the grounds of the Conquests or Trades were warrantable; (if they were caried without injury or wrong to the natives) seeing naturall commerce betweene nations, and Conquests, upon just warres, have beene alwayes approved by the Lawes of God and man.

As for those Colonies that have beene undertaken upon the desire either of disburthening of [10] full states of unnecessary multitudes, or of replenishing wast and voyd Countries; they have a cleare and sufficient warrant from the mouth of God, as immediately concurring with one speciall end that God aimed at in the first institution thereof.

But, seeing Gods honour, and glory; and next mens Salvation, is his owne principall scope in this and all his wayes; it must withall bee necessarily acknowledged that the desire and respect unto the publishing of his name where it is not knowne, and reducing men, that live without God in this present world, unto a forme of Piety and godlinesse, by how much the more immediately it suites with the mind of God, and is furthest caried from private respects, by so much the more it advanceth this worke of planting Colonies above all civill and humane ends, and deserves honour, and approbation, above the most glorious Conquests, or successefull enterprizes that ever were undertaken by the most renowned men that the Sunne hath seene, and that by how much the subduing of Satan is a more glorious act, then a victory over men: and the enlargement of Christs Kingdome, then the adding unto mens dominions: and the saving of mens soules, then the provision for their lives and bodies.

It seemes, this end, in plantation, hath beene specially reserved for this later end of the world: [11] seeing; before Christ, the Decree of God. that suffered all Nations to walke

in their own waies, *Acts* 14. 16. shut up the Church within the narrow bounds of the Promised Land, and so excluded men from the propagation of Religion to other Countries. And in the Apostles time, God afforded an easier and more speedy course of converting men to the truth by the gift of tongues, seconded by the power of Miracles, to winne the greater credit to their doctrine, which most especially, and first prevailed upon Countries civilized, as the History of the Apostles Acts makes manifest. As for the rest, I make no question, but God used the same way to other barbarous Nations, which hee held with us, whom hee first Civilized by the Romane Conquests, and mixture of their Colonies with us, that hee might bring in Religion afterwards: seeing no man can imagine how Religion should prevaile upon those, who are not subdued to the rule of Nature and Reason.

Nay, I conceive, God especially directs this worke of erecting Colonies unto the planting and propagating of Religion in the *West Indies*, (although I will not confine it to those alone) and that for divers Reasons, which ought to be taken into serious consideration, as affording the strongest Motives that can be proposed to draw on the hearts and affections of men to this worke now in hand, for this purpose; which gives occasion unto the publishing of this Treatise. [12]

There are, and those men of note both for place and learning in the Church, that conceive the course held by God from the beginning in the propagation of Religion, falls in this last age, upon the Westerne parts of the world.

1. Reason from the course of the Gospell from the beginning.

It is true, that from the first planting of Religion among men, it hath alwayes held a constant way from East to West, and hath, in that Line, proceeded so farre, that it hath extended to the uttermost Westerne bounds of the formerly knowne world; so that if it make any further passage upon that point of the Compasse, it must necessarily light upon the *West Indies*. And they conceive withall, that our Saviours Prophecie, *Matth.* 24.27. points out such a progresse of the Gospell. It is true, that the comparison there used, taken from the Lightning, aymes at the sudden dispersing of the knowledge of Christ by the Apostles ministery: but whereas wee know, the Lightning shines from divers parts of the

heaven, shewing it selfe indifferently, sometimes in the West, sometimes in the North, or South; why doth our Saviour in that similitude choose to name the Lightning that shines out of the East into the West, unlesse it be to expresse not only the sudden shining out of the Gospell; but withall the way, and passage, by which it proceedes from one end of the world to the other, that is, from East to West? [13]

2. Reason from the prom[i]se of manifesting Christ to the whole world.

But passing by that onely as a probable argument; this which followes seemes to carry greater weight.

The knowledge of Christ must certainly be manifested unto all the quarters of the World, according to divers predictions of Prophets, ratified and renewed by Christ and his Apostles. But that the knowledge of Christ hath never been discovered unto these Westerne nations may be almost demonstrated, seeing no Historie for five hundred yeares before Christ, ever mentioned any such Inhabitants of the earth, much lesse left any record of any passage unto them, or commerce with them. So that, unlesse wee should conceive a miraculous worke of conceiving knowledge, without meanes; wee cannot imagine how these Nations should once heare of the name of Christ. Which seemes the more evident by this, that we find amonge them not so much as any Reliques of any of those principles which belong to that Mysterie, although in some place may be discov[er]ed some foot-steps of the knowledge of GOD, of the Creation, and of some Legall Observations.

As in New England the Nations beleeve the Creation of the world by God, the Creation of one man and woman, their happy condition at the first, and seduction by the envy (as they say) of the Cony, which moves them to abhorre that creature unto this day more than any Serpent. It is also reported that they separate their wo- [14] men in the times appointed by the Law of *Moses*, counting them and all they touch uncleane during that time appointed by the Law: whether upon any other ground, or by a tradition received from the *Iewes*, it is uncertaine. Some conceive, their Predecessors might have had some commerce with the *Iewes* in times past, by what meanes I know not: Howsoever it bee, it fals out that the name of the place, which our late Colony hath chosen for their seat, prooves to bee perfect Hebrew,

being called *Nahum Keike,*[1] by interpretation, *The bosome of consolation:* which it were pitty that those which observed it not, should change into the name of *Salem,* though upon a faire ground, in remembrance of a peace setled upon a conference at a generall meeting betweene them and their neighbours, after expectance of some dangerous jarre.[2] Now then, if all nations must have Christ tendred unto them, and the *Indies* have never yet heard of his name, it must follow, that that worke of conveighing that knowledge to them, remaines to bee undertaken and performed by this last age.

3. Reason from the miraculous opening of the passage to these parts of the world.[3]

Againe, what shall we conceive of that almost miraculous opening the passage unto, and discovery of these formerly unknowne nations, which must needs have proved impossible unto former ages for want of the knowledge of the use of the Loadstone,[4] as wounderfully found out as these unknowne Countries by it. It were little lesse [15] then impietie to conceive that GOD, (whose Will concurres with the lighting of a Sparrow upon the ground) had no hand in directing one of the most difficult and observeable workes of this age; and as great folly to imagine, that hee who made all things, and consequently orders and directs them to his owne glory, had no other scope but the satisfying of mens greedy appetites, that thirsted after the riches of that new found world, and to tender unto them the objects of such barbarous cruelties as the world never heard of. Wee cannot then probably conceive that GOD, in that strange discovery, aymed at any other thing but this, that, after hee had punished the Atheisme, and Idolatry of those heathen and bruitish Nations, by the Conquerors cruelty, and acquainted them, by mixture of some other people, with civility, to cause at length the glorious Gospell of Iesus Christ to shine out unto them, as it did to

[1] See J. Hammond Trumbull, "The Composition of Indian Geographical Names, illustrated from the Algonkin Language," *Collections* of the Connecticut Historical Society, II, 43 (Hartford, 1870). The Indian name for what was later called Salem was Abnaki for "eel land," Nehumkeke, or Naümkeag.

[2] This "dangerous jarre" almost occurred between the "old planters" under Conant and the "new planters" under Endecott.

[3] The Athenaeum Copy reads: "Reeason from myraculous opening of The passage to these parts of the world." These two minor errors may indicate that this copy is a first printing of the first edition.

[4] This name for the compass was in use well into the eighteenth century.

our forefathers, after those sharpe times of the bitter desolations of our Nation, betweene the *Romanes* and the *Picts*.

4. Reason from the nearnesse of the *Iewes* conversion.

A fourth reason, to prove that God hath left this great, and glorious worke to this age of the world, is the nearnesse of the *Iewes* conversion; before which, it is conceived by the most, that the fulnesse of the *Gentiles* must come in, according to the Apostles prophesie, *Rom.* 11.25. That this day cannot be farre off appeares by the fulfilling of the prophesies, precedent to that great and [16] glorious worke, and the generall expectation thereof by all men, such as was found among the *Iewes* both in *Iudea* and in some other parts of the world before the comming of Christ in the flesh, now then let it bee granted that the *Iewes* conversion is neare, and that the *Gentiles*, and consequently the *Indians* must needs bee gathered in before that day; and any man may make the conclusion, that this is the houre for the worke, and consequently of our duty to endeavour the effecting that which God hath determined; the opening of the eyes of those poore ignorant soules, and discovering unto them the glorious mystery of Iesus Christ.

CHAP. III.

The English Nation is fit to undertake this taske.

That this Nation is able and fit to send out Colonies into Forraigne parts will evidently appeare by the consideration of of [*sic*] our overflowing multitudes: this being admitted for a received principle, that Countreyes superabound in people when they have more then they can well nourish, or well employ, seeing we know, men are not ordained to live onely, but withall and especially, to serve one another through love, in some profitable and usefull calling. Granting therefore that this Land by Gods ordinary blessing, yeelds sufficiency of corne and cattell for more then the present Inhabitants, yet, that wee have more people, then wee doe, or can profitably employ, will, I conceive, appeare to any man of understanding, willing to acknowledge the truth, and to consider these foure particulars.

1. Many among us live without employment, either wholly, or in the greatest part (especially if there happen any interruption of trade, as of late was manifested not onely in *Essex,* but in most [18] parts of the Land) and that doe not onely such as delight in idlenesse: but even folke willing to labour, who either live without exercise in their callings, or are faine to thrust into other mens, to the evident prejudice of both.

2. The labours of many others might well bee spared, and to the States advantage, as serving to little else then luxury and wantonnesse, to the impoverishing and corrupting of the most; of which there needes no better evidence then this, that when we taxe pride and excesse in apparell, buildings, and so forth the evills are justified, and our mouthes stopped with this answer; without this how should many men live and bee maintained? No man is so uncivill, as to deny supernecessaries for distinction of degrees; or supercilious, as to thinke if necessary to reduce a wealthy and abounding State to the plainnesse and homelinesse of the Primitive ages. But let our excesses be limitted to those bounds of decency, modesty, and sobriety that may answer the proportion of mens callings, and degrees, and it will bee demonstrated, the tenth person of such as are busied about superfluities, will hardlie finde sufficient imployment to yeeld themselves and their families necessarie maintenance.

3. That warrantable and usefull callings are overcharged, all mens complaints sufficiently witnesse: not onely Inholders and Shop-keepers, of [19] both which wee need not the third person, but even handy-craftsmen, as Shoomakers, Taylors, nay Masons, Carpenters, and the like, many of whom with their families live in such a low condition as is little better then beggery, by reason of the multitudes that are bred up and exercised in those employments. And yet through the excessive numbers of persons in those and other callings, necessity enforceth them to require so large a price and recompence of their labours, that a man of good estate is not able to afford himselfe conveniencies for his condition (everie calling he hath use of exhausting so much for the commodities it puts off unto him;) whereas, if the number of those persons

in their severall callings were abated, the rest having full imployment, might be able to abate of their excessive prices; whereby both they and their chapmen, might live more comfortably and plentifully; and the Common-wealth by this helpe would be eased of many burthens it groanes under, in making supply to the scantie meanes of many thousands in these callings so much overlaid with multitudes.

4. Yea, of such as are imployed, a great part of their labour were needlesse, if their workes were faithfull and loyall; the deceitfulnesse of our workes (of which all men complaine, but few discerne the cause) occasioneth the often renewing of those things which are made, which otherwise would endure for far longer continuance. [20]

Now what a disease this must needes bee in a State, where mens necessities inforce them to inventions of all wayes and meanes of expence upon the instruments of pride, and wantonnesse; and of as many subtilties and frauds in deceitfull handling all works that passe through their fingers, that by the speedy wasting of what is made, they may bee the sooner called upon for new; I leave it to any wise man to judge. It is a fearfull condition, whereby men are in a sort enforced to perish, or to become meanes and instruments of evill. So that the conclusion must stand firme, we have more men then wee can imploy to any profitable or usefull labour.

Objection.

But the idlenesse or unprofitable labours of our people arise not from our numbers, but from our ill government, inferiour Magistrates being too remisse in their offices; and therefore may more easily be reformed by establishing better order, or executing those good lawes already made at home, then by transporting some of them into forraigne Countreyes.

Answer.

Good government though it doe reforme many, yet it cannot reforme all the evills of this kind; because it will bee a great difficulty to finde out profitable employments for all that will want; which way we should helpe our selves by

tillage I know not: wee can hardly depasture fewer Ro- [21] ther beasts [5] then we doe, seeing we spend already their flesh and hides: and as for sheepe, the ground depastured with them, doth or might set on worke as many hands as tillage can doe. If we adventure the making of linnen cloth, other soiles are so much fitter to produce the materialls for that worke, their labour is so much cheaper, the hindering of Commerce in trade likely to bee so great, that the undertakers of this worke would in all probability bee soone discouraged. Nay the multiplying of new Draperies, which perhaps might effect more then all the rest, yet were in no proportion sufficient to employ the supernumeraries which this Land would yeeld if wee could bee confined within the bounds of sobriety and modesty, seeing it may bee demonstrated, that neere a third part of these that inhabite our Townes and Cities (besides such spare men as the Country yeelds) would by good order established, be left to take up new employments.

2. Argument from the opportunity of the Sea.[6]

We have as much opportunity as any Nation to transport our men and provisions by Sea into those Countries, without which advantage they cannot possibly be peopled from any part of the world; not from this Christian part at least, as all men know: And how usefull a neighbour the sea is to the furthering of such a worke; the examples of the Græcians and the Phænicians, who filled all the bordering coasts with their Colonies doe sufficiently prove unto all the world: Nei- [22] ther can it be doubted, but the first Planters wanting this helpe (as *Abraham* in his removing to *Charran* first, and to *Canaan* afterwards) must needs spend much time and indure much labour in passing their famlies [*sic*] and provisions by Land, over rivers and through Woods and Thickets by unbeaten pathes.

3. Argument from our owne practice alreadie.

But what need Arguments to us that have already determined this truth? How many severall Colonies have wee drawne out and passed over into severall parts of the West *Indies?* And this we have done with the allowance, encouragement, and high commendation of State, perhaps not

[5] Oxen, cattle. See Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts*, 14, n. 2.

[6] In the original a marginal note numbered 1 is lacking.

alway with the best success, who knowes whether by erring from the right scope? Questionlesse for want of fit men for that imployment, and experience to direct a worke, which being caried in an untrodden path, must needs be subject to miscariage into many errours.

4. Argument from our fitnes to the maine end of Colonies, the planting of true Religion.

Now whereas it hath beene manifested that the most eminent and desirable end of planting Colonies, is the propagation of Religion; It may be conceived this Nation is in a sort singled out unto that worke; being of all the States that enjoy the libertie of the Religion Reformed; and are able to spare people for such an employment, the most Orthodoxe in our profession, and behind none in sincerity in embracing it; as will appeare to any indifferent man, that shall duly weigh and [23] recount the number and condition of those few States of *Europe,* that continue in the profession of that truth which we imbrace.

CHAP. IIII.

That New-England is a fit Country for the seating of an English Colonie, for the propagation of Religion.

1. Argument or occasion, trade into the countrey.

Not onely our acquaintance with the soyle and Natives there, but more especially our opportunity of trading thither for Furres and fish, perswade this truth, if other things be answerable. It is well knowne, before our breach with *Spaine,* we usually sent out to *New-England,* yearely forty or fifty saile of ships of reasonable good burthen for fishing onely. And howsoever it fals out that our New-found-land voyages prove more beneficiall to the Merchants; yet it is as true, these to *New-England* are found farre more profitable to poore Fishermen; so that by that time all reckonings are cast up, these voyages come not farre behind the other in aduantage to the State.

2. The fitnesse of the countrey for our health and maintenance.

No Countrey yeelds a more propitious ayre for our temper, then *New-England,* as experience [24] hath made manifest, by all relations: manie of our people that have found them-

selves alway weake and sickly at home, have become strong, and healthy there: perhaps by the drynesse of the ayre and constant temper of it, which seldome varies suddenly from cold to heate, as it doth with us: So that Rheumes are very rare among our English there; Neyther are the Natives at any time troubled with paine of teeth, sorenesse of eyes, or ache in their limbes.[7] It may bee the nature of the water conduceth somewhat this way; which all affirme to keepe the body alwaies temperately soluble, and consequently helps much to the preventing, and curing of the Gout, and Stone, as some have found by experience. As for provisions for life: The Corne of the Countrey (which it produceth in good proportion with reasonable labour) is apt for nourishment, and agrees, although not so well with our taste at first; yet very well with our health; nay, is held by some Physitians, to be restorative. If wee like not that, wee may make use of our owne Graines, which agree well with that soyle, and so doe our Cattle: nay, they grow unto a greater bulke of body there, then with us in *England*. Vnto which if wee adde the fish, fowle, and *Venison,* which that Country yeelds in great abundance, it cannot be questioned but that soile may assure sufficient provision for food. And being naturally apt for Hempe and Flax especially, may promise us Linnen sufficient with our labour, and woollen too if it may be [25] thought fit to store it with sheepe.

3. Argument from the emptinese of the Land.

The Land affords void ground enough to receive more people then this State can spare, and that not onely wood-grounds, and others, which are unfit for present use: but, in many places, much cleared ground for tillage, and large marshes for hay and feeding of cattle, which comes to passe by the desolation hapning through a three yeeres Plague, about twelve or sixteene yeeres past, which swept away most of the Inhabitants all along the Sea coast, and in some places utterly consumed man, woman and childe, so that there is no person left to lay claime to the soyle which they possessed; In most of the rest, the Contagion hath scarce left alive one person of an hundred. And which is remarkable, such a Plague hath not been knowne, or remembred in any age past; nor then

[7] See *Letter to the Countess of Lincoln* (1631) for Thomas Dudley's opinion of such reports as this. Young, *Chronicles of Massachusetts,* 324.

raged above twenty or thirty miles up into the Land, nor seized upon any other but the Natives, the *English* in the heate of the Sicknesse commercing with them without hurt or danger. Besides, the Natives invite us to sit downe by them, and offer us what ground wee will: so that eyther want of possession by others, or the possessors gift, and sale, may assure our right: we neede not feare a cleare title to the soyle.[8]

4. Argument from the usefulnesse of that Colony to this State.

In all Colonies it is to bee desired that the daughter may answer something backe by way of retribution to the mother that gave her being. Nature hath as much force, and founds as strong a relation betweene people and people, as be- [26] tweene person and person: So that a Colonie denying due respect to the State from whose bowels it issued, is as great a monster, as an unnaturall childe. Now, a Colonie planted in *New-England* may be many wayes usefull to this State.

1. In our fishing voyages.[9]

As first, in furthering our Fishing-voyages (one of the most honest, and every way profitable imployment that the Nation undertakes) It must needes be a great advantage unto our men after so long a voyage to be furnished with fresh victuall there; and that supplyed out of that Land, without spending the provisions of our owne countrey. But there is hope besides, that the Colonie shall not onely furnish our Fisher-men with Victuall, but with Salt too, unlesse mens expectation and conjectures much deceive them: and so quit unto them a great part of the charge of their voyage, beside the hazard of adventure.

Next, how serviceable this Country must needs bee for provisions for shipping, is sufficiently knowne already: At present it may yeeld Planks, Masts, Oares, Pitch, Tarre, and Iron; and hereafter (by the aptnesse of the Soyle for Hempe) if the Colonie increase, Sailes and Cordage. What other commodities it may afford besides for trade, time will discover. Of Wines among the rest, there can be no doubt; the ground yeelding naturall Vines in great abundance and varietie; and of these, some as good as any are found in *France* by humane

[8] On this question of a "cleare title to the soyle" in the colonies of New Plymouth and Massachusetts, see Channing, *History of the United States*, I, 338.

[9] The number of this marginal note indicates the first of a series of sub-headings which was not continued.

culture. But in the possibilitie of the serviceablenesse of the Colonie to this [27] State, the judgement of the *Dutch* may somewhat confirme us, who have planted in the same soyle, and make great account of their Colonie there.

5. Argument the benefit of such a Colony to the Natives.

But the greatest advantage must needes come unto the Natives themselves, whom wee shall teach providence and industry, for want whereof they perish oftentimes, while they make short provisions for the present, by reason of their idlenesse, and that they have, they spend and wast unnecessarily, without having respect to times to come. Withall, commerce and example of our course of living, cannot but in time breed civility among them, and that by Gods blessing may make way for religion consequently, and for the saving of their soules. Vnto all which may bee added, the safety and protection of the persons of the Natives, which are secured by our Colonies. In times past the *Tarentines*[10] (who dwell from those of *Mattachusets bay,* neere which our men are seated; about fifty or sixty leagues to the North-East) inhabiting a soile unfit to produce that Countrey graine, being the more hardy people, were accustomed yearely at harvest to come down in their Canoes, and reape their fields, and carry away their Corne, and destroy their people, which wonderfully weakened, and kept them low in times past: from this evill our neighbourhood hath wholy freed them, and consequently secured their persons and estates; which makes the Natives there so glad of our company. [28]

Objection 1.

But if we have any spare people, Ireland is a fitter place to receive them then New-England. Being 1, *Nearer.* 2, *Our owne.* 3, *Void in some parts.* 4, *Fruitfull.* 5, *Of importance for the securing of our owne Land.* 6, *Needing our helpe for their recovery out of blindnesse and superstition.*

Answere.

Ireland is well-nigh sufficiently peopled already, or will be in the next age. Besides, this worke needs not hinder that,

[10] H. M. Sylvester, *Indian Wars* (Boston, 1910), I, 132.

no more then the plantation in *Virginia, Bermudas,* S. *Christophers, Barbados, etc.* which are all of them approved, and incouraged as this is. As for religion, it hath reasonable footing in *Ireland* already, and may easily be propagated further, if wee bee not wanting to our selves. This Countrey of *New-England* is destitute of all helpes, and meanes, by which the people might come out of the snare of Satan. Now although it be true, that I should regard my sonne more then my servant; yet I must rather provide a Coate for my servant that goes naked, then give my sonne another, who hath reasonable clothing already.

Objection 2.

But New-England hath divers discommodities, the Snow, and coldnesse of the winter, which our English bodies can hardly brooke: and the annoyance of men by [29] *Muskitoes, and Serpents: and of Cattle, and Corne, by wilde beasts.*

Answere.

The cold of Winter is tolerable, as experience hath, and doth manifest, and is remedied by the abundance of fuell. The Snow lyes indeed about a foot thicke for ten weekes or there about; but where it lies thicker, and a month longer, as in many parts of *Germany,*[11] men finde a very comfortable dwelling. As for the Serpents, it is true, there are some, and these larger then our Adders; but in ten yeares experience no man was ever indangered by them; and as the countrey is better stored with people, they will be found fewer, and as rare as among us here. As for the wilde beasts, they are no more, nor so much dangerous or hurtfull here, as in Germany and other parts of the world. The Muskitoes indeed infest the planters, about foure moneths in the heat of Summer; but after one yeares acquaintance, men make light account of them; some slight defence for the hands and face, smoake, and a close house may keepe them off. Neither are they much more noysome then in *Spaine, Germany,* and other parts; nay, then the fennish parts of *Essex,* and *Lincolne-*

[11] This reference to Germany reflects the interest of English Puritans in the fate of German Protestants during 1618–1648. Refugees from that country emigrated to Massachusetts as early as 1630.

shire. Besides it is credibly reported, that twenty miles inward into the Countrey they are not found: but this is certaine, and tried by experience, after foure or five yeares habitation they waxe very thinne: It may be the hollownesse of the ground [30] breeds them, which the treading of the earth by men and cattle doth remedy in time.

Objection 3.

But if the propagation of religion bee the scope of the plantation, New-England which is so naked of inhabitants, is the unfittest of any place for a Colony; it would more further that worke to sit downe in some well-peopled countrey, that might afford many subjects to worke upon, and win to the knowledge of the truth.

Answer.

1 But how shall we get footing there? the *Virginian* Colony may bee our precedent; where our men have beene entertained with continuall broyles by the Natives, and by that meanes shut out from all hope of working any reformation upon them, from which, their hearts must needes be utterly averse by reason of the hatred which they beare unto our persons: whereas, *New-England* yeelds this advantage, that it affords us a cleare title to our possessions there; and good correspondence with the Natives; whether out of their peaceable disposition, or out of their inability to make resistance, or out of the safety which they finde by our neighbourhood, it skills not much; this is certaine, it yeelds a faire way to work them to that tractablenesse which will never bee found in the *Virginians:* Neither have wee any cause to complaine for want of men to worke upon; the in-land parts are indifferently populous; [31] and *Naraganset-bay* and river, which borders upon us, is full of Inhabitants, who are quiet with us, and Trade with us willingly, while wee are their neighbours, but are very jealous of receiving either us or the *Dutch* into the bowells of their Country, for feare wee should become their Lords.

2 Besides, in probabilitie, it will be more advantagious to this worke to beginne with a place not so populous: For as

the resistance will be lesse, so by them having once received the Gospell, it may be more easily and successefully spread to the places better peopled, who will more easily receive it from the commendation of their owne Countrie-men, then from strangers, and flocke to it as Doves to the windowes.

3 Though in the place where they plant, there are not many Natives, yet they have an opportunitie, by way of trafficke and commerce (which at least is generally once a yeare) with the Natives in a large compasse, though farre distant from them, by which meanes they grow into acquaintance with them, and may take many advantages of convaying to them the knowledge of Christ, though they liue not with them.

Objection. 4.

But the Countrey wants meanes of wealth that might invite men to desire it; for there is nothing to bee ex- [32] *pected in* New-England *but competency to live on at the best, and that must bee purchased with hard labour, whereas divers other parts of the* West-Indies *offer a richer soyle, which easily allures Inhabitants, by the tender of a better condition then they live in at present.*

Answer.

An unanswerable argument, to such as make the advancement of their estates, the scope of their undertaking; but no way a discouragement to such as aime at the propagation of the Gospell, which can never bee advanced but by the preservation of Piety in those that carry it to strangers; Now wee know nothing sorts better with Piety them [*sic*] Competency; a truth which *Agur* hath determined long agoe, *Prov.* 30.8. Nay, Heathen men by the light of Nature were directed so farre as to discover the overflowing of riches to be enemie to labour, sobriety, justice, love and magnanimity: and the nurse of pride, wantonnesse, and contention; and therefore laboured by all meanes to keepe out the love and desire of them from their well-ordered States, and observed and professed the comming in and admiration of them to have beene

the foundation of their ruine. If men desire to have a people degenerate speedily, and to corrupt their mindes and bodies too, and besides to tole-in[12] theeves and spoilers from abroad; let them seeke a rich soile, that brings in much with little labour; but if they desire that Piety [33] and godlinesse should prosper; accompanied with sobriety, justice and love, let them choose a Countrey such as this is; even like *France,* or *England,* which may yeeld sufficiency with hard labour and industry: the truth is, there is more cause to feare wealth then poverty in that soyle.

Chap. 5.[13]

What persons may be fit to be employed in this worke of planting a Colony.

It seemes to bee a common and grosse errour that Colonies ought to be Emunctories or sinckes of States; to drayne away their filth: whence arise often murmurings at the removall of any men of State or worth, with some wonder and admiration, that men of sufficiency and discretion should preferre any thing before a quiet life at home. An opinion that favours strongly of selfe-love, alwaies opposite and enemy to any publike good. This fundamentall errour hath beene the occasion of the miscariage of most of our Colonies, and the chargeable destruction of many of our Countrymen, whom when we have once issued out from [34] us we cast off as we say to the wide world, leaving them to themselves either to sinke or swimme.

Contrary to this common custome, a State that intends to draw out a Colony for the inhabiting of another Country, must looke at the mother and the daughter with an equall and indifferent eye; remembring that a Colony is a part and member of her owne body; and such in whose good her selfe hath

[12] Draw in, pull in.

[13] The numbering of the chapters is either arabic or roman from this point on.

a peculiar interest, which therfore she should labour to further and cherish by all fit and convenient meanes; and consequently must allow to her such a proportion of able men as may bee sufficient to make the frame of that new formed body: As good Governours, able Ministers, Physitians, Souldiers, Schoolemasters, Mariners, and Mechanicks of all sorts; who had therefore need to bee of the more sufficiency, because the first fashioning of a politicke body is a harder taske then the ordering of that which is already framed; as the first erecting of a house is ever more difficult then the future keeping of it in repaire; or as the breaking of a Colt requires more skill then the riding of a managed horse. When the frame of the body is thus formed and furnished with vitall parts, and knit together with firme bands and sinewes, the bulke may be filled up with flesh, that is with persons of lesse use and activity, so they bee plyable and apt to bee kept in life. [35]

The disposition of these persons must bee respected as much or more then their abilities; men nourished up in idlenesse, unconstant, and affecting novelties, unwilling, stubborne, enclined to faction, covetous, luxurious, prodigall, and generally men habituated to any grosse evill, are no fit members of a Colony. Ill humours soone overthrow a weake body; and false stones in a foundation ruine the whole building: the persons therfore chosen out for this employment, ought to be willing, constant, industrious, obedient, frugall, lovers of the common good, or at least such as may be easily wroght to this temper; considering that workes of this nature try the undertakers with many difficulties, and easily discourage minds of base and weake temper. It cannot, I confesse, be hoped that all should be such; care must be had that the principalls be so inclined, and as many of the Vulgar as may bee, at least that they bee willing to submit to authority, mutinies, which many times are kindled by one person, are well nigh as dangerous in a Colony, as in an Armie.[14]

These are rules concerning electing of fit persons for Colonies in generall, unto which must be adjoyned the con-

[14] The names of John and Samuel Browne, of Roger Williams, and Anne Hutchinson recall how this theory worked between 1629 and 1637.

sideration of the principall scope whereat the Colonie aimes; which must be Religion, whether it bee directed to the good of others for their conversion; or of the Planters themselves for their preservation and continuance [36] in a good condition, in which they cannot long subsist without Religion. To this purpose must be allotted to every Colony, for Governours and Ministers especially, men of piety and blamelesse life, especially in such a Plantation as this in *New-England,* where their lives must be the patternes to the Heathen, and the especiall, effectuall meanes of winning them to the love of the truth. Nay it would bee indeavoured, that all Governours of families, either may be men truly Godly or at least such as consent and agree to a forme of morall honestie and sobrietie. As for other ends lesse principall, which are especially Merchandise and defence, common sense teacheth everie man that the Colonie must be furnished with the greatest store of such persons as are most serviceable to the maine end at which it aimes.

Objection.

But able and godly persons being in some degree supporters of the State that sends them out, by sparing them she seemes to plucke away her owne props, and so to weaken her owne standing, which is against the rule of charitie, that allowes and perswades every man to have the first care of his owne good and preservation. [37]

Answer.

The first, indeed but not the onely care: so I must provide for mine owne family, but not for that alone; But to answer this objection more fully, which troubles many, and distracts their thoughts, and strikes indeede at the foundation of this worke (for either wee must allow some able men for Civill and Ecclesiasticall affaires for peace and warre, or no Colonie at all:) First I deny that such as are gone out from the State, are cut off from the State; the rootes that issue out from the Truncke of the Tree, though they be dispersed, yet they are not severed, but doe good offices, by drawing nourishment to the maine body, and the tree is not weakned but strengthened the more they spread, of which

wee have a cleere instance in the Romane State: that Citie by the second Punicke Warre had erected thirtie Colonies in severall parts of *Italie;* and by their strength especially supported her selfe against her most potent enemies. I confesse that in places so farre distant as *New-England* from this Land, the case is somewhat different; the intercourse is not so speedy, but it must needs be granted yet, that even those so far remote may be of use and seruice to this State still, as hath beene shewed. [38]

Secondly, if some usefull men bee spared, to whom doe we spare them? is it not to a part of our owne body? Those whom we send out are they not our owne flesh and bones? and if we send them out for their greater good, that they may prosper better in a larger roome; and in part too for our own ease, that their absence may give us the more scope at home; shall it seeme much unto us, to allow them (without any great losse to our selves) a few persons, whom though we would not willingly spare to strangers: yet upon good consideration we may according to the principle of nature bestow upon our owne.

Thirdly, are we altogether our owne, and for our selves? or Gods and for his glory? we spare them to God, and to Religion, and to the Churches service. Wee are owners of our owne estates, it is true, but when the service of God or the Church requires a share of them, shall any man answer with *Nabal,* 1 *Sam.* 25.11. *Shall I take my bread, etc.* The Primitive Churches planted by the Apostles, were content to spare some of their own Pastors, sometimes for the publike service of the Church, and good of their brethren. If it be objected, those were brethren, and neighbours, these are Pagans and beasts rather then men; let us bee entreated to reflect upon our selves, and set before us the face of our Progenitors 1500 or 1600 yeares [39] since, that we may answer to our owne hearts such were some of us, or our progenitors before us. They are beasts wee say, and can wee without compassion behold men transformed into beasts, we have the light of *grace,* they have scarce the dim light of nature, wee have fellowship with God, they have scarce heard of him: wee are translated into the glorious libertie of the Sonnes of God; they are bond-slaves of Sathan: who hath made us to differ?

how long shall we scorne what we should commiserate? what if God should shew mercy unto them, erect a Church among them, recover them out of the power of the Devill; Could any Conquest bee so glorious? would we not glorifie God and rejoyce with all our soules, as the beleeving *Iewes* did in the *Gentiles* conversion? How can we refuse to further the prosecuting of that which would bee our glory and joy if it were effected?

Fourthly, no man desireth to doe as *Sampson,* to plucke away the Pillars on which the house leaneth; this worke craves no Councellour of State, no Peere of the Land; nay perhaps no person imployed at present in any place of government, private men whom the State we conceive needs not, because it employes not;[15] may serve the turne; suppose it should borrow some men of more speciall use, and returne them home, as men from their tra- [40] vels, improved not so much by sight as experience, after the affaires of the Colony were setled; what losse were it in lieu of so great a gaine?

Lastly, if we spare men for the advancing of Gods honour, men that doe us service that they may attend Gods service, we have as much reason to expect the supply of our losse, as the repayring of our estates, out of which we spare a portion for our brethrens necessities, or the advancing of Gods worship; by the blessing of God according to his promise.

Chap. VI.

What warrant particular men may have to engage their persons, and estates in this imployment of planting Colonies.

To give a cleare Resolution to this Proposition, is a matter of no small difficultie: I shall declare mine owne opinion, and leave it to the censure of the godly wise. It is the conceit of some men, that no man may undertake this taske without an extraordinary warrant, such as *Abraham* had from God, to call him out of *Mesopotamia* to *Canaan;* their

[15] John Winthrop, for instance, had lost his post in the Court of Wards in 1629.

opinion seemes to rest upon a ground that will hardly be made good, *scilicet:* That the planting of Colonies is an extraordinarie worke. Which if it be granted, then the argument hath a strong, and for ought I know, a necessary inference: That therefore those that undertake it, must have an extraordinary Call. But that Proposition, That planting of Colonies is an extraordinary worke, will not easily be granted. This Argument lyes strongly against it.

That Duty that is commanded by a perpetuall Law, cannot be accounted extraordinary. [42]

But the sending out of Colonies is commanded by a perpetuall Law. . .

Therefore it is no extraordinary duty.

Now that the commandement is perpetuall, hath been proved. First, because it was given to mankind; and secondly, because it hath a ground which is perpetuall, *scilicet:* the emptinesse of the earth, which either is so, or may be so while the world endures; for even those places which are full, may be emptied by warres, or sicknesse; and then an argument presseth as strongly the contrary way. The undertaking of an ordinary duty needs no other then an ordinary warrant; but such is planting of a Colony, as being undertaken by vertue of a perpetuall law; therefore the undertaking to plant a Colony, needs no extraordinary warrant. Indeed *Abrahams* undertaking was extraordinary in many things, and therefore needed an immediate direction from God.

1, *He was to goe alone with his family and brethren.*

2, *To such a certaine place far distant.*

3, *Possessed already by the* Canaanites.

4, *To receive it wholy appropriated to himselfe, and his Issue.*

5, *Not to plant it at present, but onely sojourne in it, and walke through it for a time.*

Now none of these circumstances fit our ordinary Colonies; and consequently *Abrahams* example is nothing to this purpose, because the case is different, though in some other things alike. [43]

Others conceive, that though men may adventure upon the worke upon an ordinary warrant, yet none can give that but the State; therefore they require a command from the

highest authoritie unto such as ingage themselves in this affaire. Indeed that the State hath power over all her members, to command and dispose of them within the bounds of justice, is more evident, then can be denyed: but this power she executes diversly; sometime by command, sometimes by permission: as in preparations to warre, sometimes men are compelled to serve, sometimes they are permitted to goe voluntaries that will.

Againe, somtimes [*sic*] the Supreme power takes care of the whole businesse; sometimes (as in Musters) commits it to delegates. If the power of State then proclaime liberty to such as will, to gather and unite into the body of a Colony, and commit the care to some persons that offer themselves, to associate to them whom they thinke fit, and to order them according to discretion; no man can deny but that the State hath given a sufficient warrant. Neither doth it appeare, that ever any State did more; The *Romans* use was to proclaime that they intended to plant a Colony of such a number in such a place, and as many as would give in their names should receive so many acres of Ground, and enjoy such other priviledges as they thought fit to grant them, which they then expressed: Those which gave in their names were inrolled till the number was full, [44] and then had they certaine Commissioners appointed by the State to see all things ordered and directed accordingly, and to put every man into possession of his inheritance; neither did the State interpose their authority in assigning, and choosing out the men, but left it free and voluntary to every man to take or leave.

Seeing nothing can beare out the hazzards, and inconveniences of such toylesome and difficult undertakings, as is the planting of Colonies, but a willing minde: Men can digest any thing that themselves choose or desire; but a commandement makes pleasant things harsh, how much more harsh things intolerable?

But to come somewhat nearer unto the grounds of this resolution. In undertaking an [*sic*] new inployment [*sic*] two things must be taken into consideration, upon which a mans warrant must be grounded.

1, His ingagement unto his present condition in which he is setled.

2, The tender and offer of the new service unto which he is called.

In both it must be first granted, that Callings are employments in which we serve one another through love, *Gal.* 5.13. in something that is good, *Ephes.* 4. 28. not seeking our owne, but other mens profit, 1 *Cor.* 10.24.

In furthering other mens good our ingagements are,

1, To the Church in generall.

2, To that particular State of which wee are [45] members, either wholy, or any branch of it.

3, To our friends.

And these as they have interest in our labours of love in that order that is set downe, so they have power to require them in the same order, and that two wayes, either by their expresse command, or by the manifestation of their necessity, or speciall good proposed. The Church in generall rarely layes any command but mostly chalengeth our service by the discovery of her need, and use of our labours for her good. The particular State, besides the pleading of her necessity; interposeth her authority; and that either immediately, as in deputing men to publike offices; or mediately by our parents, or other governours whom she authorizeth to direct and setle us in such particular callings and imployments as may bee for her use and service. The State then by any publike intimation, proclaming free liberty to men to remove and plant themselves else-where, dischargeth these persons of the obligation wherein by her power and authority they stand bound to their particular calling wherein they are placed, and ought otherwise to continue. So that now particular persons stand no longer bound by the States authoritie, but by the manifestation of her necessities, which crave their ayde and service for their publike good and safety.

The next thing then to bee taken into consideration, is the advantages or benefits, which may be [46] gained by our service either to the Church, State, or friends to whom wee have relation by private interest. In all these the first respect must be had to necessity, and the next to conveniency. How much is to bee yeelded to necessity, it hath pleased God to manifest; by dispensing with his owne worship and service, in cases of necessity, not only upon our owne persons: but upon

our goods or cattell. It must therefore be duly waighed whether we may be more serviceable to the Church in the State where wee live, or in that wee desire to erect: and againe, whether service is of more necessity: and whether appeares to be greater, that must carry us, unlesse some pressing wants of private friends challenge our service from them both, which in matters of moment and importance, to them must be conceived to be cast in by God, as a discharge from any other employment. As for example, The furthering of the Gospell in *New-England,* seemes to bee of more pressing necessity, and consequently by a stronger band to call mee on to that worke, then the State at home to my continuance here; for here though I may doe something for the advancing of Religion, yet my labours that way are not so needfull in the land, because many others may put too their hands to the same work. In *New-England* there are none to undergo the task: but in this case if the preservation of my fathers life or estate required my stay, that is a discharge unto me from this call to *New-* [47] *England;* not because his life or estate is of greater weight then the Churches good, but because his necessity is greater; for no body can procure my fathers safety but my selfe, other men besides my selfe may doe the Church this service. Thus men that are free from engagement may see what weights are allowed to bee cast into the ballance to determine their stay or removall.

All the difficulty that remaines, is, who shall cast the scales (that is) who shall determine which benefit or necessity is the greater? No question that which conscience well informed, assures mee to be so: but who shall informe my conscience, or by what rule shall my conscience judge? It is out of peradventure that God must informe the conscience. But how shall I discover what God adviseth? It is as certaine that if the word, by scanning the grounds which it proposeth, can give a Seer resolution, it must be followed. *The things that are revealed belong unto us and our children that we may doe them,* Deut. 29. 29. But many rules of Scripture though cleere in themselves, yet are doubtfull and ambiguous in the application, because they cannot determine particulars. In this case then wee must have recourse to Christian wisdome; assisted: First, By the advise and counsell of godly wise

friends. Secondly, By the observation of the concurrence of opportunities, *Occasiones sunt Dei nutus*. Thirdly, By and consideration of the inclination of the heart proposing a right end [48] scope after frequent and earnest prayer. A resolution taken after all these meanes used, as in Gods presence, without prejudice, with a sincere desire to know and bee informed of Gods will, and obey it, may be taken for the voice of God at present, and ought to direct the practise, though it binde not the conscience to embrace the things resolved for an infallible and onely the most probable direction. And the truth is, that unlesse this advise and resolution by Christian wisedome, applying the generall rules of Gods word to our owne particular case after wee have sought counsell of God, and our Christian friends may be admitted for a rule to direct our practise, I know not what rule to prescribe to bee followed. Suppose I would marry a wife, nothing but Christian wisedome so assisted, as is expressed before, can shew mee which is the woman. [49]

CAP. [*sic*] 7.

Answering Obiections against the maine bodie of the worke.

OBIECTION 1.

1. Obiection, from experience of the ill successe of Colonies.

All experience is against the hope and good successe of Colonies; much money, and many mens lives have beene spent upon *Virginia, St. Christophers, New-found-land,* and so forth with no proportionable successe, and what reason have wee to expect other event of this?

ANSVVER.

To speake nothing of particulars, which perhaps might occasion some distaste, I denie not but the ends which they proposed may be good and warrantable; men may set before themselves civill respects, as advancement of the Nation, and hope and expectation of gaine, which perhaps hath either wholly set on, or strongly swayed these lately undertaken Colonies: But I conceive where the service of the Church,

and respect unto the advancement of the Gospell is predominant, we may with greater assurance depend upon Gods engagement in the worke, and consequently expect a prosperous successe from his hand. Besides, why may not English Plantations thrive as well as Dutch? Where and when have their Colonies failed? To speake nothing of the *East Indies,* even this which they have setled in *New-England* upon *Hudsons* River with no [50] extraordinary charge or multitude of people, is knowne to subsist in a comfortable manner, and to promise fairely both to the State and undertakers. The cause is evident: The men whom they carrie, though they be not many, are well chosen and knowne to be usefull and serviceable; and they second them with seasonable and fit supplies, cherishing them as carefully as their owne families, and employ them in profitable labours, that are knowne to be of speciall use to their comfortable subsisting: Let us follow them in these steps, and there will be no question of the like or better successe. But if wee unadvisedly thrust over men of whom wee could never make good use at home, and when we have done, neglect and expose them to want and extremities, and leave them to shift for themselves there, or follow a preposterous course, to expect gaine from them before they have taken roote; we can looke for nothing else but the ruine and subversion of all at last. Now upon this ground to have prejudicate thoughts of Colonies before they be undertaken, is not so much to taxe men as God that hath set men a taske to consume and overthrow them.

Reply.

But such publike workes cannot be mannaged but by a publicke purse; Colonies are workes for a State, and not for private persons, a good treasure being the sinewes of them; and that is the true cause of their miscarriage: for what can wisedome doe where it wants a sufficient sub- [51] ject to worke upon, or instruments to worke withall.

Ansvver.

I grant Colonies are best undertaken by Princes, assisted with the strength of a whole State: yet what may be done in

Colonies by private persons, the Dutch have discovered in part already in their Plantation in *New-England,* and may (by Gods blessing) in short time appeare in this lately undertaken Colonie of the English in the same Country: Of which we have reason to be somewhat the more confident by the experience of our bordering neighbours of New-Plimmouth, who (not withstanding they were men of weake estate, and encountred many disasters in their first arrivall, and since in some of their adventures homewards) are growne up into a good firme compacted body, living and subsisting though not in a flourishing estate, yet in a good convenient and comfortable condition. As for this which is of a farre greater bulke, if it might please God to move the hearts of well disposed persons to assist the poorer sort of them with some reasonable annual supply, or some present sum of money, by which they may be eased in some of their generall burthens, as transportation and maintenance of Ministers and some other publicke persons, erecting of Churches and buildings for publicke use, and the like, untill the fruites of their labours may yeeld them sufficient for publicke and private supplies, which would be effected within a few yeares; there [52] would be no question of a flourishing State there in convenient time by the concurrence of Gods ordinary blessing. In this dutie if we be wanting unto them, there will be great cause to suspect that the exception against the worke for the insupportable burthen of the charge is but a faire pretext to colour our feare of our owne purses, which many are more faithfull unto, than unto the service of God and of his Church.

OBIECTION 2.

But the pretended end of winning the Heathen to the knowledge of God and embracing of the faith of Christ, is a meere fantasie, and a worke not onely of uncertaine but unlikely successe, as appeares by our fruitlesse endeavours that way, both in *Virginia* and *New-England,* where *New-Plimmouth* men inhabiting now these ten yeares, are not able to give account of any one man converted to Christianity.

ANSVVER.

And no marvell, unlesse God should worke by miracle; neither can it be expected that worke should take effect untill we may be more perfectly acquainted with their language, and they with ours.[16] Indeede it is true, both the Natives and English understand so much of one anothers language, as may enable them to trade one with another, and fit them for conference about things that are subject to outward sense; and so they understand our use in keeping the Sabbath day, [53] observe our reverence in the worship of God, are somewhat acquainted with the morall precepts, know that adultery, theft, murther and lying are forbidden, which nature teacheth, because these things are outward, and may bee understood almost by sense: But how shall a man expresse unto them things meerely spirituall, which have no affinity with sense, unless wee were throughly acquainted with their language, and they with ours? neither can we in theirs, or they in our tongue utter any continued speech, because neither we nor they understand the moods, tenses, cases, numbers, præpositions, adverbes, and so forth which make coherence in words, and expresse a perfect sense. Besides, it hath beene intimated that wee hardly have found a brutish people wonne before they had beene taught civility. So wee must endeavour and expect to worke that in them first, and Religion afterwards. Amongst such as have beene brought over into *England* from *Virginia* there was one *Nanawack,* a youth sent over by the *Lord De Læware,* when hee was Governour there, who comming over and living here a yeare or two in houses where hee heard not much of Religion, but saw and heard many times examples of drinking, swearing, and like evills, remained as hee was a meere Pagan; but after removed into a godly family, he was strangely altered, grew to understand the principles of Religion, learned to reade, delighted in the Scriptures, Sermons, Prayers, and other Christian duties, [54] wonderfully bewailed the state of his Countrymen, especially his brethren; and gave such testimonies of his love to the

[16] Recognition of this necessity was the basis of the great work of John Eliot, Apostle to the Indians (1604–1690).

truth, that hee was thought fit to be baptised: but being prevented by death, left behinde such testimonies of his desire of Gods favour, that it mooved such godly Christians as knew him, to conceive well of his condition; neither is there any cause to doubt but time may bring on in others, as well as it did in him, that which wee expect upon a sodaine in vaine.

REPLY.

But some conceive the Inhabitants of *New-England* to be *Chams* posterity, and consequently shut out from grace by *Noahs* curse,[17] till the conversion of the Iewes be past at least.

ANSVVER.

How doe they appeare to be *Chams* posterity? whose sonnes by the agreement of Writers, tooke up their dwellings together in *Canaan, Palestina,* and the parts adjoyning in *Arabia, Egypt, Mauritania, Lybia,* and other bordering parts of *Africke,* and consequently for any footsteps of their descents appearing unto us, might bee as farre from peopling the West Indies, as any other part of the posteritie of *Noahs* sonnes. Neither doe mens conjectures agree, (for wee have no certainties to build on) whence these Countries of the parts of *America* towards *New-England* might most probably be peopled. But admit the Inhabitants to be *Chams* posteritie, doth not the Prophet *Esay*[18] foretell the conversion of [55] *Chams* posterity in *Egypt,* performed in the Primitive times, all histories witnessing that the *Egyptians* had amongst them a Church of eminent note, governed by divers Bishops under the Patriarch of *Alexandria?* And who knowes not the numerous Churches of *Africke,* wherein were above 160 Bishops in *St. Austins* time, governing sundry Nations, all of them of *Chams* posteritie? But what testimonie of Scripture, or ground of reason from Scripture, layes such a fearefull curse upon all *Chams* posteritie? *Noahs* curse reacheth but to one branch, to *Canaan,* and as Interpreters conceive, with especiall relation to the extirpation of that part of his issue which inhabited *Iudea,* by the children of *Israel.* It is too much bold-

[17] For the curious story of the cursing of Ham, see Genesis, 9:22–25.
[18] Isaiah, 11:11.

nesse then to curse where God hath not cursed, and shut out those from the meanes of grace, whom God hath not excluded.

Obiection 3.

But admit the *English* might be thought fit to plant a Colony in *New-England,* yet this time is unfit, in this troubled condition of the Church; it were more convenient for men to keepe close together, than to scatter abroad, that so they might be the more able to resist the common enemie. This withdrawing of our selves in time of so great hazard betrayes weaknesse of heart, and proclaimes our despaire of the cause of Religion, which the godly entertaine with sad hearts, and the Iesuites with smiling countenances. [56]

Ansvver.

It is reported that when *Annibal* lay before *Rome,* it discouraged him much in his hopes of taking the Citty, that at the same instant there marched out of the Citty at contrary gates under their colours an Armie of souldiers towards the sea, to be shipped and sent over for a supply into *Spaine;* for it argued the *Romans* feared him not, that durst spare a supplie of men to a Countrie so farre distant when the enemie lay at the gates:[19] And it seemes to argue courage rather than feare, when in the weakest condition of the Church men testifie their hope and expectation of the enlargement of that Kingdome of Christ which wicked men and his enemies glorie that they have as good as conquered and subdued. I conceive those that engage themselves in this adventure are not so void of Religion as to conceive the scourge of God cannot reach them in *New-England;* or of reason, as to thinke *New-England* safer than olde. But they scatter and withdraw themselves in a time of neede? Suppose the State were in such 1.
neede as is pretended in this objection, yet in such a popular Land, such a number as is employed in this worke is not very considerable; for I thinke no man conceives a thousand or two thousand men are of any great weight to sway the balance, when so many great stones lie in the skales. Againe, that 2.

[19] Livy, XXVI, XI. A somewhat less spectacular act of confidence was the sale at auction in Rome of the real estate comprising the camp of Hannibal.

wherein they seeme to be most usefull to us is their prayers, which (according to their profession and promise) they will performe in absence, as if they [57] were present with us. And if any other way their service be required, as they holde themselves bound, so will they at all times doe their uttermost for the discharge of their dutie to this their native Country. And lastly, by that time all the particulars of this Treatise are wel weighed, it will be found that their employment there for the present is not inconvenient, and for the future may prove beneficiall to this State.

OBIECTION 4.

It may be, passing over of two thousand or three thousand persons will be of no great moment, and so many might be spared; but some mens examples drawing on others, and there being no stint or limits set unto mens itching humours after this new worke, we know not where to expect any end; and what consequents may follow the issuing out of great multitudes, especially on a sodaine, it is easie to conjecture.

ANSVVER.

If that should be a true and reall feare, and not a pretence, I should much wonder that any man should have so little insight into the disposition of his owne Country-men. Howsoever some men are content to remove from their dwellings, and to leave their beloved Countrie and friends, let no man conceive we shall finde over-many of that humour: We are knowne too well to the world to love the smoake of our owne chimneys so well, that hopes of great advantages are not like-[58] ly to draw many of us from home: And that evidently appeares by the different habits and affections of the mindes of men unto this voyage. Some pittie the exposing of their friends, or such unto whom for the report of their honestie and religion they wish well, unto so many dangers and inconveniences; others and the most part scoffe at their folly; a third sort murmure and grudge that they are abandoned and forsaken by them: and good men dispute the warrant of their undertaking this worke, and will not be convinced. It may be, private interests may prevaile with some; One brother

may draw over another, a sonne the father, and perhaps some man his inward acquaintance; but let no man feare the overhasty removall of multitudes of any of estate or abilitie. As for the poorer sort it is true, many of them that want meanes to maintaine them at home, would be glad to passe over into *New-England* to finde a better condition there; but by what meanes will they be transported, or provided of necessaries for so chargeable a journey? [20] and without such provisions they will be found very unwelcome to such as are alreadie planted there. Besides, it cannot be doubted but the State will be so watchfull as not to suffer any prejudice unto it selfe, if the numbers of those that leave her should increase too fast. If the State should be slacke, even those that now allow the passing over of some good and usefull men, when the number is growen to an indifferent proportion will of themselves be carefull to [59] restraine the rest as farre as their councell and advice can prevaile. The truth is when some 800 or 1000 families are seated there, the Colonie will be best filled up with youthes and girles, which must be continually drawne over to supply the roomes of men-servants and maid-servants, which will marry away daily, and leave their Masters destitute. But it may be justly admired, what the cause should be that men of contrary mindes should so strangely concurre in the jealousies and dislikes of this worke, neither opposing any of the former Colonies, whereof the least (I meane *Virginia, Barmudas,* and St. *Christophers*) [21] drew away two for one of those which are yet passed over to *New-England;* unlesse it be that the best workes finde commonly worst entertainment amongst men.

Obiection 5.

It is objected by some, that religion indeede and the colour thereof is the cloake of this work, but under it is secretly harboured faction and separation from the Church. Men of ill affected mindes (they conceive) unwilling to joyne any longer with our assemblies, meane to draw themselves apart, and

[20] Professor Channing thinks the £12:10 s share of Virginia and the £10 share of Plymouth represented the cost of landing a colonist on American soil in 1609 and 1620. A share in the Massachusetts enterprise cost £25.

[21] Master Higginson, in mentioning St. Kitts, is careful to omit the "St."

to unite into a body of their owne, and to make that place a nursery of faction and rebellion, disclaiming and renouncing our Church as a limbe of Antichrist.

ANSVVER.

A man might justly hope that the letter sub- [60] scribed with the hands of the Governour and his associates, wherein they acknowledge the grace they have received, unto this Church; professe their resolution to sympathize and share with her in good and evill, and desire heartily her prayers: would sway and beare downe the ballance against all groundlesse surmises and guesses at mens intentions. What rule of charity will allow jealousies perhaps of an evill affected minde, and it may be ignorant either of the persons whom it censures, or manner of their carriage, suspecting and designing evill and dangerous resolutions in the undertakers, to sway against the joynt asseveration of so many godly men of good estimation, (who are privie to their owne intentions,) that affirme the contrary? *Love* (saith the Apostle) *thinketh no evill,* that is, without ground; nay it *hopeth all things,* though there be some appearance to the contrary, and *beleeveth all things,* easily and willingly, when they are cleared and made manifest.[22] But if the words and protestations of men carrie no credit with us, let us a little scanne the probabilities which might informe our judgement, and give light unto their intentions.

1 *Presumption.* The first thing which I would tender unto men of indifferent mindes, is the carriage of these persons in their owne Country in former times. The men are knowne, and the places of their dwellings: Have they heretofore while they dwelt among us appeared to be men of turbulent or factious dispositions, impatient of the present [61] government? Where or how have they beene convinced, and in what of any such crime? Have they separated from our Assemblies, refused our Ministery, or the joyning with us in the worship and service of God? let the men be produced and named. Now if their conversation have beene peaceable in times past,

[22] I Corinthians, 13:5–7. This answer to the fifth objection refers plainly to "The Humble Request," of which John White was himself the author.

how are they become factious upon a sodaine? if there have beene unity among us heretofore, what hath stirred up the spirit of division? It were an unreasonable taske to undertake the defence of every one, it is not easie to finde twelve Disciples without one *Iudas;* and yet if some one or two, or ten should be found in this number factiously enclined, it were hard measure to condemne a whole Society for ten mens sakes that are mixed with them. Suppose wee should finde ten drunkards in the company, as I make no question wee may easily finde more; were it charitie to cast a scandal upon all the companie, that they are an assembly of drunkards? I perswade my selfe there is no one Separatist knowne unto the Governours, or if there be any, that it is as farre from their purpose as it is from their safety, to continue him amongst them.

Obiection.

Yea but if they doe not separate, yet they dislike our discipline and ceremonies, and so they will prove themselves semi-separatists at least, and that is their intention in removing from us, that they may free themselves from our government. [62]

Ansvver.

I conceive we doe and ought to put a great difference betweene Separation, and Non-conformity; the first we judge as evill in it selfe, so that whosoever shall denie us to be a Church, either of our owne men, or strangers of another Nation, we cannot beare it: but other Churches that conforme not to our orders and ceremonies we dislike not, onely we suffer it not in our owne; not that we adjudge the disusing of ceremonies simply evill, but onely evill in our owne men, because wee conceive it is joyned with some contempt of our authority and may tend to a rent in the Church: But yet neither can this imputation be charged justly on our *New-England* Colonie; If the men were well scanned, I conceive it may be with good assurance maintained, that at least three parts of foure of the men there planted, are able to justifie themselves to have lived in a constant course of conformity unto our Church government and orders. Yea but they are

weary of them now, and goe over with an intention to cast them off? Intentions are secret, who can discover them; but what have they done to manifest such an intention? What intelligence have they held one with another to such purpose? There passed away about 140 persons out of the western parts from *Plimmouth,* of which I conceive there were not sixe knowne either by face or fame to any of the rest. What subscription or solemne agreement haue they made before hand to binde themselves unto such a resolution? If that were forborne for feare of discovery, yet it concer- [63] ned those who had such an intention to be well assured of a Governour that might effectually further their purposes: Mr. *John Winthrop,* whom they have all chosen, (and that not the multitude, but all the men of best account amongst them) is sufficiently knowne in the place where he long lived, a publicke person, and consequently of the more observation to have beene every way regular and conformable in the whole course of his practise. Yea but they have taken Ministers with them that are knowne to be unconformable, and they are the men that will sway in the orders of the Church? Neither all nor the greatest part of the Ministers are unconformable. But how shall they prevent it? What Minister among us well seated in a good living, or in faire expectance of one, will be content to leave a certaine maintenance, to expose himselfe to the manifold hazards of so long a journey, to rest upon the providence of God, when all is done, for provision for himselfe and his family? Pardon them if they take such Ministers as they may have, rather than none at all. Hath any conformable Minister of worth, and fit for that employment, tendred his service, whom they have rejected? No man can affirme they have taken such out of choise rather than necessity, unlesse it be manifested where they have refused others whom they might have had. But there are some unconformable men amongst them, yea and men of worse condition too? And if there were no drunkards nor covetous persons nor vicious any way, it would and might justly [64] move all the world to admiration. But there is great oddes betweene peaceable men, who out of tendernesse of heart forbeare the use of some ceremonies of the Church, (whom this State in

some things thinkes fit to winke at, and it may be would doe more if it were assured of their temper) and men of fiery and turbulent spirits, that walke in a crosse way out of distemper of minde. Now suppose some of those men that (knowing the disposition of their owne mindes, how unable they are to bring their hearts to answer the course of our Churches practise in all things) consider that their contrary practise gives distaste to government, and occasions some disturbance unto the Churches peace, upon that ground withdraw themselves for quietnesse sake: Would not such dispositions be cherished with great tendernesse? And surely, as farre as guesse by circumstances may lead us, we have more cause to thinke that they are so minded than otherwise; because this will certainely be the consequent of their going out from amongst us, which they cannnot [*sic*] but foresee: and if they had meant otherwise, their way had beene to remaine in the midst of us as thornes in our eyes, and prickes in our sides, and not to depart from us: seeing wee know it is the remaining of the thorne in the midst of the flesh which torments; the plucking it out, and casting it away breedes ease and quietnesse.[23]

I should be very unwilling to hide any thing I thinke might be fit to discover the uttermost of the intentions of our Planters in their voyage [65] to *New-England,* and therefore shall make bold to manifest not onely what I know, but what I guesse concerning their purpose. As it were absurd to conceive they have all one minde, so were it more ridiculous to imagine they have all one scope. Necessitie may presse some; Noveltie draw on others; hopes of gaine in time to come may prevaile with a third sort: but that the most and most sincere and godly part have the advancement of the *Gospel* for their maine scope I am confident. That of them, some may entertaine hope and expectation of enjoying greater libertie there than here in the use of some orders and Ceremonies of our Church it seemes very probable. Nay more then that, it is not improbable, that partly for their sakes, and partly for

[23] After 1630, owing perhaps to the agreement of Governor Endecott at Salem with Dr. Samuel Fuller of Plymouth, and the acquiescence of Governor John Winthrop, it would have been difficult to establish a distinction (with a difference) between the churches of the Nonconformists and those of the Separatists in New England.

respect to some *Germans*[24] that are gone ouer with them, and more that intend to follow after, euen those which otherwise would not much desire innovation of themselves, yet for the maintaining of peace and unitie, (the onely foder of a weake unsetled body will) be wonne to consent to some variation from the formes and customes of our Church. Nay I see not how we can expect from them a correspondence in all things to our State civill or Ecclesiasticall: Wants and necessities cannot but cause many changes. The Churches in the Apostles and in the setled times of peace afterwards were much different in many outward formes. In the maine of their carriage two things may moue them to vary much from us: Respect to the *Heathen,* before whom it concernes them to shew much pietie, sobrietie, and austeritie; and the con- [66] sideration of their owne necessities will certainely enforce them to take away many things that we admit, and to introduce many things that wee reject, which perhaps will minister much matter of sport and scorne unto such as have Relations of these things, and that represented unto them with such addition as fame usually weaves into all reports at the second and third hands.[25] The like by this their varying in ciuill Conversation, wee may expect of the alteration of some things in Church affayres. It were bootlesse to expect that all things will or can be at the first forming of a rude and incohærent body, as they may be found in time to come; and it were strange and a thing that never yet happened, if wee should heare a true report of all things as they are. But that men are farre enough from projecting the erecting of this Colony for a Nursery of *Schismatickes,* will appeare by the ensuing faithfull and unpartiall Narration of the first occasions, beginning, and progresse of the whole worke, layd before the eyes of all that desire to receive satisfaction, by such as have beene privie to the very first conceiving and contriving of this project of planting this Colony, and to the severall passages that have happened since, who also in that they relate, consider they

[24] These Germans were refugees from the Palatinate, which was ravaged by enemies of Frederick, brother-in-law of Charles I, during the Thirty Years' War.

[25] Three hundred years later the author might have been tempted to phrase the first part of his apology as the influence of the frontier.

have the searcher of all hearts and observer of all mens wayes witnesse of the truth and falsehood that they deliver.

About ten yeares since a company of *English,* part out of the *Low-Countryes,* and some out of [67] *London,* and other parts, associating themselves into one body, with an intention to plant in *Virginia:* in their passage thither being taken short by the winde, in the depth of Winter the whole ground being under Snow, were forced with their provisions to land themselves in *New-England* upon a small Bay beyond *Mattachusets,* in the place which they now inhabit and call by the name of *New-Plimmouth.*[26] The ground being covered a foote thicke with snow, and they being without shelter, and having amongst them divers Women and Children, no marvell if they lost some of their company, it may bee wondered how they saved the rest. But notwithstanding this sharpe encounter at the first, and some miscarriages afterward, yet, (conceiving Gods providence had directed them unto that place, and finding great charge and difficultie in removing) they resolved to fixe themselves there; and being assisted by some of their friends in London, having passed over most of the greatest difficulties that usually encounter new Planters, they beganne to subsist at length in a reasonable comfortable manner; being notwithstanding men but of meane and weake estates of themselves. And after a yeares experience or two of the Soyle and Inhabitants, sent home tydings of both, and of their well-being there, which occasioned other men to take knowledge of the place, and to take it into consideration. [68]

About the yeare 1623. some Westerne *Marchants* (who had continued a trade of fishing for Cod and bartering for Furres in those parts for divers yeares before) conceiving that a Colony planted on the Coast might further them in those employments, bethought themselves how they might bring that project to effect, and communicated their purpose to others, alledging the conveniency of compassing their project with a small charge, by the opportunitie of their fishing trade, in which they accustomed to double-man their Ships,

[26] This author, as early as 1630, blames the weather instead of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Weston, or Captain Jones. See Channing, *History of the United States,* I, 301.

that (by the helpe of many hands) they might dispatch their Voyage, and lade their Ship with Fish while the fishing season lasted, which could not be done with a bare sayling company. Now it was conceived, that the fishing being ended, the spare men that were above their necessary saylers, might be left behind with provisions for a year; and when that Ship returned the next yeare, they might assist them in fishing, as they had done the former yeare; and, in the meane time, might employ themselves in building, and planting Corne, which with the provisions of Fish, Foule, and Venison, that the Land yeelded, would affoord them the chief of their foode. This Proposition of theirs tooke so well, that it drew on divers persons, to joyne with them in this project, the rather because it was conceived that not onely their owne Fishermen, but the rest of our Nation that went thither on the same errand, might be much advantaged, not onely by fresh victuall, which that Colony might spare them in time, but withall, and more, [69] by the benefit of their, Ministers labours, which they might enjoy during the fishing season; whereas otherwise being usually upon those Voyages nine or ten moneths in the yeare, they were left all the while without any meanes of instruction at all. Compassion towards the Fishermen, and partly some expectation of gaine, prevailed so farre that for the planting of a Colony in *New-England* there was raised a Stocke of more then three thousand pounds, intended to be payed in in fiue yeares, but afterwards disbursed in a shorter time.

How this Stocke was employed, and by what errours and over-sights it was wasted, is I confesse not much pertinent to this subject in hand: Notwithstanding, because the knowledge thereof may be of use for other mens direction, let me crave leave in a short Digression to present vnto the Readers view, the whole order of the managing of such monies as were collected, with the successe and issue of the businesse vndertaken.

CHAP. VIII.[27]

A digression manifesting the successe of the Plantation intended by the Westerne men.

The first imployment then of this new raised Stocke, was in buying a small Ship of fiftie tunnes, which was with as much speed as might be dispatched towards *New-England* vpon a Fishing Voyage: [70] the charge of which Ship with a new sute of sayles and other provisions to furnish her, amounted to more then three hundred pound. Now by reason the Voyage was vndertaken too late; shee came at least a moneth or six weekes later then the rest of the Fishing-Shippes, that went for that Coast; and by that meanes wanting Fish to make up her lading, the Master thought good to passe into *Mattachusets* bay, to try whether that would yeeld him any, which he performed, and speeding there, better then he had reason to expect: having left his spare men behind him in the Country at *Cape Ann,* he returned to a late and consequently a bad market in *Spaine,* and so home. The charge of this Voyage, with provision for foureteene spare men left in the Countrey, amounted to above eight hundred pound, with the three hundred pound expended vpon the Shippe, mentioned before. And the whole provenue (besides the Ship which remained to us still) amounted not to above two hundred pound; So the expence above the returne of that voyage came to 600 *li* and vpwards.

The next yeare was brought to the former Ship a Flemish Fly-boat of about 140. tunnes, which being unfit for a Fishing Voyage, as being built meerly for burthen, and wanting lodging for the men which shee needed for such an employment, they added unto her another deck (which seldome proves well with Flemish buildings) by which meanes shee was carved so high, that shee proved walt,[28] and unable to beare any sayle: so that before shee could passe on upon her Voyage, they were [71] faine to shift her first; and put her upon a better trimme, and afterwardes, that proving to little

[27] The Athenaeum Copy lacks this chapter number.
[28] Unsteady, cranky.

purpose to vnlade her, and take her vp and furre,[29] her. Which notwithstanding it were performed with as much speede as might be, yet the yeare was aboue a moneth too far spent before she could dispatch to set to Sea againe. And when she arived in the Country, being directed by the Master of the smaller Ship (vpon the successe of his former yeares Voyage) to fish at *Cape Anne* not far from *Mattachusets* Bay, sped very ill, as did also the smaller Ship that led her thither, and found little Fish, so that the greater Ship returned with little more then a third part of her lading: and came backe (contrary to her order by which she was consigned to *Bordeaux*) directly for *England:* so that the *Company* of *Aduenturers* was put to a new charge to hire a small Shippe to carrie that little quantitie of Fish shee brought Home to Market.

The charge of this Voyage with both the ships, amounted to about two thousand two hundred pounds: whereof eight hundred pounds and upward must be accounted for the building, and other charges about the greater Ship. By these two Ships were left behinde in the Country about thirtie-two men, the charges of whose wages and provision, amounted to at the least fiue hundred pounds of the summe formerly mentioned. The provenue of both the Voyages that yeare exceeded not the summme [*sic*] of fiue hundred pounds at the most. [72]

The third yeare 1625. both Ships with a small Vessell of fortie tuns which carried Kine with other prouisions, were againe set to Sea upon the same Voyage with the charge of two thousand pounds, of which summe the Company borrowed and became indebted for one thousand pounds and upwards. The great Ship being commanded by a uery able Master, hauing passed on about two hundred leagues in her Voyage, found her selfe so leake by the Carpenters fault, (that looked not well to her Calking) that she bare up the Helme and returned for *Waymouth,* and having unladen her provisions and mended her leake, set her selfe to Sea againe; resolving to take aduice of the Windes whether to passe on her former Voyage or to turne into *New-found-land,* which she did, by reason that the time was so far spent, that the Master and Company dispaired of doing any good in *New-England:* where the Fish falls in two or three mounths sooner

[29] To double-plank a ship's side.

then at *New-found-land.* There she tooke Fish good store and much more then she could lade home: the overplus should have beene sold and deliuered to some sacke [30] or other sent to take it in there, if the Voyage had beene well managed.

But that could not be done by reason that the Ship before she went was not certaine where to make her Fish; by this accident it fell out that a good quantitie of the Fish she tooke was cast away, and some other part was brought home in another Ship. At the returne of the Ships that yeare, Fish by reason of our warres with *Spaine* [73] falling to a very low rate; the *Company* endevoured to send the greater Ship for *France:* but she being taken short with a contrary Winde in the West-Country, and intelligence given in the meane time that those Markets were over-laid, they were enforced to bring her backe againe, and to sell her Fish at home as they might. Which they did, and with it the Fish of the smaller Ship, the *New-England* Fish about ten shillings the hundred by tale or there about; the *New-found-land* Fish at six shillings foure pence the hundred, of which was well nigh eight pence the hundred charge raised vpon it after the Ships returne: by this reason the Fish which at a Market in all likelyhood might have yeelded well nigh two thousand pounds, amounted not with all the provenue of the Voyage to aboue eleaven hundred pounds.

Vnto these losses by Fishing were added two other no small disaduantages, the one in the Country by our *Land-Men,* who being ill chosen and ill-commanded, fell into many disorders and did the *Company* little seruice: The other by the fall of the price of Shipping, which was now abated to more then the one halfe; by which meanes it came to passe, that our Ships which stood vs in little lesse then twelue hundred pounds, were sold for foure hundred and eighty pounds.

The occasions and meanes then of wasting this stocke are apparently these. First, the ill choice of the place for fishing; the next, the ill carriage of our men at Land, who having stood vs in two yeares and a halfe in well nigh one thousand [74] pound charge, never yeelded one hundred pound profit. The last the ill sales of Fish and Shipping. By all which the

[30] "Sacke" *i.e.* saic, "a sort of Grecian ketch."

Aduenturers were so far discouraged, that they abandoned the further prosecution of this Designe, and tooke order for the dissoluing of the *Company* on Land, and sold away their Shipping and other Provisions.

Two things withall may be intimated by the way, the first, that the very proiect it selfe of planting by the helpe of a fishing Voyage, can never answer the successe that it seemes to promise (which experienced Fisher-men easily have foreseene before hand, and by that meanes haue preuented divers ensuing errors) whereof amongst divers other reasons these may serue for two. First that no sure fishing place in the Land is fit for planting, nor any good place for planting found fit for fishing, at least neere the Shoare. And secondly, rarely any Fisher-men will worke at Land, neither are Husband-men fit for Fisher-men but with long vse and experience. The second thing to be obserued is, that nothing new fell out in the managing of this stocke seeing experience hath taught vs that as in building houses the first stones of the foundation are buried vnder ground, and are not seene, so in planting Colonies, the first stockes employed that way are consumed, although they serue for a foundation to the worke.

CHAP. IX.

The vndertaking and prosecution of the Colony by the Londoners.

But to returne to our former subiect from which we digressed. Vpon the manifestation of the *Westerne Aduenturers* resolution to give off their worke, most part of the *Land-men* being sent for, returned; but a few of the most honest and industrious resolved to stay behinde and to take charge of the Cattell sent over the yeare before; which they performed accordingly: and not likeing their seate at *Cape Anne* chosen especially for the supposed commoditie of fishing, they transported themselues to *Nahum-keike,* about foure or fiue leagues distant to the *South-West* from *Cape Anne.*[31]

Some then of the *Aduenturers* that still continued their de-

[31] Roger Conant led the remnant of the settlers of the Dorchester Company from the shores of Gloucester Harbor to the site of Salem in 1626.

sire to set forwards the Plantation of a *Colony* there; conceiving that if some more Cattell were sent over to those few Men left behinde; they might not onely be a meanes of the comfortable subsisting of such as were already in the Country; but of inviting some other of their Friends and Acquaintance to come over to them: aduentured to send over twelue Kine and Buls more. And conferring casually with some *Gentlemen* of *London,* moved them to adde vnto them as many more. By which occasion the businesse came to agitation a-fresh in *London,* and being at [76] first approved by some and disliked by others, by argument and disputation it grew to be more vulgar. In so much, that some men shewing some good affection to the worke, and offering the helpe of their purses, if fit men might be procured to goe over; Enquiry was made whither any would be willing to engage their persons in the Voyage: by this enquiry it fell out that among others they lighted at last on Master *Endecott,* a man well knowne to divers persons of good note: who manifested much willingnesse to accept of the offer as soone as it was tendered: which gaue great encouragement to such as were upon the point of resolution to set on this worke, of erecting a new *Colony* upon the old foundation. Hereupon divers persons having subscribed for the raising of a reasonable Summe of Mony: A Patent was granted with large encouragements every way by his most *Excellent Maiestie.* Master *Endecott* was sent over Governour [32] assisted with a few men, and arriving in safety there, in *September* 1628. and uniting his owne men with those which were formerly planted in the Country, into one body; they made up in all not much above fiftie or sixtie persons. His prosperous Iourney and safe arrivall of himselfe and all his Company, and good report which he sent backe of the Country, gave such encouragement to the worke, that more *Aduenturers* joyning with the first *Vndertakers,* and all engaging themselues more deepely for the prosecution of the Designe; they sent over the next yeare about three hundred persons more, most seruants, [77] with a conuenient proportion of rother Beasts, to the number of sixty or seventy or there about and some Mares and Horses, of which the Kine came safe

[32] John Endecott arrived at London's Plantation, in 1628, as agent of the Company which appointed him Governor in 1629 after the issue of the Charter, March 4, 1628/29.

for the most part; but the greater part of the Horses dyed, so that there remained not above twelue or foureteen alive. By this time the often agitation of this affayre in sundry parts of the *Kingdome,* the good report of Captaine *Endecotts* Governement and the encrease of the *Colony* began to awaken the Spirits of some Persons of competent estates, not formerly engaged, considering that they lived either without any vsefull employment at home, and might be more seruiceable in assisting the planting of a *Colony* in *New-England* tooke at last a resolution to unite themselues for the prosecution of that worke: And as it usually falls out; some other of their acquaintance, seeing such men of good estates engaged in the Voyage, some for love to their persons, and others upon other respects united unto them, which together made up a competent number (perhaps far lesse then is reported) and embarked themselues for a Voyage to *New-England,* where I hope they are long since safely arrived.[33]

[33] Courage and persistence at Plymouth and Salem resulted in the settlement of Massachusetts. The reference is to the Winthrop Fleet of four vessels. Thomas Prince, *A Chronological History of New England* (Boston, 1826), 329, gives the following list of ships which arrived in New England in 1630.

Ships.	From.	Departure. 1630	Arrival. 1630	Port.
Lion.	Bristol.	February.	May.	Salem.
Mary and John.	Plymouth.	March 20.	May 30.	Nantasket.
Arbella.	Yarmouth.	April 8.	June 12.	Salem.
Jewel.	"	" "	" 13.	"
Ambrose.	"	" "	" 18.	"
Talbot.	"	" "	July 2.	"
Mayflower.	Southampton.	May.	" 1.	Charlestown.
Whale.	"	"	" 1.	"
Hopewell.	"	"	" 3.	Salem.
William and Francis.	"	"	" 3.	"
Trial.	"	"	" 5.	Charlestown.
Charles.	"	"	" 5.	Salem.
Success.	"	"	" 6.	"
Gift.	———	"	August 20.	Charlestown.
Another.	———	June.	———	———
Handmaid.	———	August.*	October 29.	Plymouth.
Another (set out by a private merchant.)†				

* A later interpolation by Savage.

† Col. Banks thinks this was a French vessel.

This is an unpartiall, though briefe Relation of the occasion of planting of this Colony. The particulars whereof, if they could be entertained, were cleare enough to any indifferent judgement, that the suspicious and scandalous reports raysed upon these Gentleman and their friends (as if under the colour of planting a Colony they intended to rayse and erect a seminary of faction and sepa- [78] ration) are nothing else but the fruits of jealousie of some distempered minde, or which is worse, perhaps, favour of a desperate malicious plot of men ill affected to Religion, endevouring by casting the vndertakers into the jealousie of State, to shut them out of those advantages which otherwise they doe and might expect from the Countenance of Authoritie. Such men would be entreated to forbeare that base and unchristian course of traducing innocent persons, under these odious names of Separatists and enemies to the Church and State, for feare least their owne tongues fall upon themselves by the justice of his hand who will not fayle to cleare the innocency of the just, and to cast backe into the bosome of every slaunderer the filth that he rakes up to throw in other mens faces. As for men of more indifferent and better tempered mindes, they would be seriously advised to beware of entertaining and admitting, much more countenancing and crediting such uncharitable persons as discover themselves by their carriage, and that in this particular, to be men ill affected towards the worke it selfe, if not to Religion, at which it aymes, and consequently unlikely to report any truth of such as undertake it.

CHAP. X.

The Conclusion of the whole Treatise.

Now for the better preventing of such suspitions and jealousies, and the ill affections to this Worke, that may arise thereupon; two things are earnestly requested of such as passe their Censures upon it, or the persons that undertake it. The first is, that although in this barren and corrupt age wherein we live, all our actions are generally swayed and carryed on by

private interests; in so much as sincere intentions of furthering the common good; (grounded upon that love through which wee are commanded to serve one another) be the wonders of men; notwithstanding men would not thinke it impossible, that the love which waxeth cold and dyeth in the most part, yet may revive and kindle in some mens hearts: and that there may be found some that may neglect their ease and profit to doe the Church good and God service, out of a sincere love and affection to Gods honour and the Churches good. Why may not wee conceive that God may prevaile upon the hearts of his servants, to set them on as effectually to seeke the inlargement of his kingdome; as a blind zeale fomented by the art and subtiltie of Satan may thrust on Priests and Iesuites, and their partisans, to engage their persons and estates for the advancing of the Devils Kingdome? Or if in the Worlds infancy, men out [80] of an ambitious humour, or at present for private advantages and expectation of gaine, thrust themselves out from their owne dwellings into parts farre remote from their native soyle; why should not we conceive, that if they doe this for a corruptible crowne; that the desire and expectation of an incorruptible (the reward of such as deny themselves for the service of God and his Church) may as strongly allure such as by patient continuance in well-doing, seeke immortalitie and life? And yet the favourable conceits that men entertaine of such as follow in all their actions the wayes of their private gaine, and the jealousies that they are apt to entertaine of such as pretend onely the advancement of the Gospell, *manifestly* argue that the generall opinion of the world is that some may be true to themselves and the advancement of their owne private estates, but hardly any to God and his Church. I should be very unwilling to thinke, they cherish this suspition upon that ground that moved that sensuall Emperour to beleeve that no man was cleane or chaste in any part of his body, because himselfe was defiled and uncleane in all.[34] This is then the first favour that is desired, of such as consider this action, to beleeve that it is neither impossible nor unlikely that these mens intentions are truely and really such as they pretend, and not

[34] This cynicism Suetonius attributes to Nero on the basis of hearsay evidence: Suetonius, *The Lives of the Caesars,* Book VI, Chapter 29.

collours and cloakes for secret dangerous purposes, which they closely harbour in their breasts, especially when all apparant circumstances concurre to justifie the contrary. [81]

The next request that is presented to all indifferent minded men is; that they would be pleased to set before their eyes that which hath beene alreadie mentioned, that as there followed the children of *Israel* a mixt multitude out of *Egypt*, so it is probable there may doe these men out of *England*, and that of divers tempers: some perhaps men of hot and fiery spirits, making change and innovation their scope, may conceive that (when they see that for the desire and care of preserving unitie and love, and taking away occasions of offence to tender consciences, some changes and alterations are yeelded unto) they have gained what they expect, and may as fondly triumph in their supposed Victory, as if they had over throwne all order and discipline; as they doe absurdly mistake the grounds and ends which the course of Government proposeth and aymeth at: and thereupon in their Relations to their friends, represent things not as they are really done and intended, but as they apprehend them in their fantasies. Others there will be that prooving refractary to Government, expecting all libertie in an unsetled body; and finding the restraint of Authority, contrary to expectation, in their discontented humours, meeting with no other way of revenge, may be ready to blemish the Government with such scandalous reports as their malicious spirits can devise and utter.

Now although some say, that malice is a good informer, notwithstanding no wise or good man admits it for a fit Iudge; if therefore men will be [82] pleased to forbeare the overhastie beliefe of such reports; as shall be sent over or given out, either by men of foolish and weake mindes or distempered humors, untill they receive more assured satisfaction from such as understand and are acquainted with the grounds and secret passages of the affayres of Government, they shall keepe their owne hearts upon the even-ballance of a right judgement, and provide for the innocency of those upon whom they passe their censure.

If by these meanes jealousies and suspitions may be prevented, I make no question but the relations which this Worke hath both to the State and Church, will upon mature advise

so farre prevaile with all well-minded men, as to move them not onely to affoord their prayers for the prosperous successe of this new planted Colony, that from small and contemptible beginnings, it may grow to a setled and well formed Church; but with all their best furtherance, *Consilio, auxilio, re,* by advise, friends, and purses. Which howsoever the principalls of this worke, out of their modestie, crave not, yet the necessary burdens which so weightie an undertaking chargeth them withall, will certainely inforce them to need, whatsoever men judge to the contrary. Neither is or will the burden be intolerable to this State; A common stocke of ten thousand pound may be sufficient to support the weight of generall charges of transporting and maintaining Ministers, Schoole-Masters, Commanders for Warres; and erecting of such [83] buildings as will be needfull for publique use for the present; and for time to come it cannot be questioned but the Colony it selfe having once taken roote, when mens labours beginne to yeeld them any fruit, will be found sufficient to beare her owne burden. Alas, what were it for a Marchant or a Gentleman of reasonable estate, to disburse twentie-fiue pound or fiftie pound, for the propagating of the *Gospell,* who casts away in one yeare much more upon superfluities in apparell, dyet, buildings, and so forth: and let men seriously weigh and consider with themselves, whether a worke of so great importance, so neerely concerning Gods honour, and the service of the Church calling upon them (as *Lazarus* upon *Dives*[35]) for some of the wast of their superfluous expences; if they lend a deafe eare to the motion, will not assuredly plead strongly against them at the barre of Christs judgement-seate at the last day? Nay, what a scorne would it be to the Religion we professe, that we should refuse to purchase the propagation of it at so easie a rate, when the Popish partie charge themselves with such excessiue expences; for the advancement of idolatry and superstition? Its true, it will be valued at a low rate, that the Colony is able to returne you againe by way of recompence; perhaps the enjoying of such immunities and priviledges, as his Majestie hath beene pleased to grant unto them, and an hundred or two hundred acres of Land

[35] Luke, 16:19–26.

to every man that shall disburse twentie-fiue pound, and so for more proportionablie, for the [84] raising of the common Stocke; yet their posteritie (if not themselves) may have cause in time to come, to acknowledge it a good purchase that was made at so low a rate: but if they lend, looking for nothing againe, wee know the promise (*Luk.* 6.35. he is no looser, that hath made God his debter.[36]

Your reward shall be great, and you shall be the children of the Highest *Luk.* 6. 35.

FINIS [37]

[36] The Royal Charter of March 4, 1628/29 granted the twenty-six patentees certain rights which should pass to the successors of their Company and confirmed a certain grant of land from the Council for New England. The language of the Charter made the land the permanent possession of the Company and its assigns. The transfer of the Charter to New England made inevitable those very usurpations of administration which led to the vacating of it in 1684. See 1 *Proc.* Mass. Hist. Soc. XI, 186–187. An interesting treatment of the colonization of Massachusetts is to be found in the study by Mrs. Frances Rose-Troup, *The Massachusetts Bay Company and its Predecessors* (New York, 1930).

[37] Just below *Finis* the Athenaeum Copy has: "July 1774 Read by Samuel Sewall." The flyleaf is missing.

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